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(Refer to Arvind Kumar Singh's Article)

Hingoḷī-Mātā Temple Inscription of year 1207

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SOCIAL MOBILITY—ITS ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION IN THE ṚGVEDA

By
BHOJ RAJ*

A study of the Ṛgvedic society shows a transition from a state of egalitarianism to one of an incipient social stratification which in later Vedic period developed into full fledged caste system. The corresponding changes are also clearly marked in the social philosophy of the Aryans—*Ṛta* of the Ṛgvedic age slowly changed its connotation and was finally 'reborn in *Dharma*'.[1] As far as Ṛgvedic evidence goes, the change from the original state was occasioned by the consequences of warfare.

The earliest Aryan invaders in India were engaged in unremitting wars with the 'sons of the soil' and among themselves. The intensity of the situation can be easily gauged from the frequency of raids, their massive scale, the cult of weapons, the importance accorded to Indra, the war-god, and involvement, in

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 38, Nos. 1-2, September–December, 1988 Issue, pp. 1-5.

* Deptt. Ancient Indian History Culture and Archaeology, Punjab University, Chandigarh-160014.

1 Mees Gualtherus H., *Dharma and Society*, Seema Publications, Delhi, 1980, p. 10.

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fact, of all the gods, along with Indra, in the celestial fights.[2] Thus, the Aryan society at this stage can be rightly described as a 'conquest community'.[3]

An insight into the psyche of these war-like people can be had from their concept of *Ṛta*—"the right order of the universe, of the sacrifice and of ethical conduct."[4] We have in connection with *Ṛta* "a pretty complete System of Ethics, a kind of counsel of perfection" and with the kindred idea of *Satya*, it manifests itself as "moral law in man's activity".[5] But what exactly does this morality signify, particularly in respect of social relations is nowhere made explicit. We can only assess it negatively by referring to the Ṛgvedic idea of sin which is essentially an infringement of *Ṛta*,[6] for "the *Saṁhitā* seems to worry more on the idea of sin and its expiation than the accumulation of *Puṇya*".[7] Thus two significant verses RV 1.185.8 and 5.85./ make a distinct allusion to what *Ṛta* can mean among other things—an ethic of social solidarity expiating all sin committed against "the gods, our friend, our house's chieftain . the man who loves us.. a brother, a friend or comrade, the neighbour ever with us or a stranger". The picture which emerges is one of a society preoccupied with its gods and chieftains, the unity of its members based on strong filial instincts with little consciousness of any stratification among them. Kinship seems to be the guiding principle. Such unity was in fact necessary for the Aryans in their fight with the Dasyus and even from anthropological evidence, war is known to foster the internal unity of a tribe.[8] RV 2.86 is quite explicit on this point :

> "May we with Agni's, Indra's help,
> with Soma's, yea, of all the gods,
> Uninjured dwell-together still,
> and conquer those who fight us"

But such kinship based egalitarian social order (and the term *Ṛta* in this signification) must have belonged to the earliest phase of the Aryans' presence in

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2 *Ṛgveda* (henceforth RV-English Translation by R.T.H. Griffith) 9.61.20; 10.102; 6.75; Vālakhilya 5.1; 8.82. 30-32; 10.157.1.

3 Martindale Don, *Social Life and Cultural Change*, D. Van Nostrand Company Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, 1962, p. 207.

4 Hopkins E. Washburn, *Ethics of India*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924, p. 2.

5 Bloomfield Maurice, *The Religion of The Veda*, Indological Book House, Delhi, 1972, pp. 126-128.

6 RV 7.86; 1.25. 1-2; 7.89.5.

7 Prabhakar, C. L., "The Idea of Pāpa and Puṇya in the Ṛgveda" in *Journal of The Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. 24, Sept.-Dec., 1974, p. 269.

8 Collins John J., *Anthropology—Culture, Society and Evolution*, Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1975, p. 410.

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India when they were engaged in deadly fights. Towards the end of Ṛgveda, when peace seems to have prevailed and some order established we find *Ṛta* in a sense which strongly adumberates the later *Dharma* which actually replaced it. How this came about, can also be gathered from the prevailing creation myth of the *Ṛgveda*.[9]

Significantly, the process of creation has been described as unending war between the Ādityas under the command of their chief, Varuṇa and the Dānavas led by the arch-demon Vṛtra. But soon as the Ādityas were being worsted and the need was felt for a new leadership Indra was caused to be born for the destruction of Vṛtra and his kind and to protect the gods. However, before agreeing to be the champion of the Ādityas, Indra extracted from them the promise that he should be their king.[10]

Strength came to Indra by the drinking of soma and somewhat incoherently we are told that for his lust for soma he overcame Tvaṣṭra or even slew Viśvarūpa and widowed his mother.[11] Once he was even deserted by the gods and had to fight and overcome them[12] possibly to vindicate his claim to primacy.

Finally when the demons were defeated and Vṛtra slain, *Ṛta* was born (RV 1.105.15) and the gods were born up to do their work according to the *Ṛta* through the might of Indra (RV 10.55.7) i.e. " they were set to work at their respective duties.[13]

The myth clearly suggests a social reorganisation consequent upon a protracted warfare. Indra epitomises the rise of a dominant warrior class which now controlled the affairs of the society and enforced some sort of social distinctions.[14] *Ṛta* in this context is obviously approaching *Dharma.*

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9 The myth is briefly reproduced here. For details see Norman Brown W., *India and Indology—Select Articles* (Ed. Rosane Rocher), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978, Chaps. 5 and 8.

10 Ibid., p. 41.

11 Ibid., p. 29.

12 Ibid., p. 30.

13 Ibid., p. 32.

14 " In East Africa, Hamitic Cattle-breeders invaded and subjected to their domination the agricultural Bantus. The Society that resulted after conquest was a society of classes, a society in which there was a division of labour between ethnic groups, and a society in which the political institutions had developed far to provide for the regulation of these complexities "—Shapiro Harry L. (Ed.) : *Man, Culture and Society* (Rev. ed.), Oxford University Press, London, 1971, pp. 423-424.

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A study of the attributes of the various Ṛgvedic gods is a further indication of an incipient social stratification which can be best understood in the light of the above creation myth.

Thus Indra, the god of battles,[15] warrior as soon as born,[16] best breaker of forts,[17] best slayer of Vṛtra,[18] helping in the subjection of the existing worlds,[19] is primarily the god of the equestrian nobility, the princes.[20] Ādityas, too have been called Kṣatriyas,[21] the princes of the folk[22] and Viśvadevas are the princely gods.[23]

Agni's priesthood is the most salient feature of his character.[24] He is priest by birth on heaven as well as on earth[25] implored by the priests.[26] Likewise, Soma has been called a priest among the gods[27] and Brahmaṇaspati is "the great High Priest".[28] Mitra-Varuṇa have also been thought of as priests.[29]

Puṣan is the divine herdsman[30] who has the exclusive epithets of *anaṣṭapaśu* "losing no cattle", *anaṣṭavedas* "losing no goods" and *Karambhād* "eating gruel"[31] and he traces the track of the furrow with his golden goad.[32] As one

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15 RV 4.20; Vālkh. 6.6.

16 RV 3.51.8; 5.30.5; 8.45.4; 8.66.7; 10.113.4.

17 RV Vālkh. 5.1.

18 RV 8.82.30; 8.32.32.

19 RV 10.157.1.

20 RV 1.57.4; 1.54.11; 5.33.5; 10.147.3; 6.44.18.

21 RV 8.56.1.

22 RV 8.56.13.

23 RV 10.65.4.

24 MacDonell A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974, p. 97.

25 RV 1.94.6; 10.110.11; 10.150.4; 10.52.

26 RV 8.63.12.

27 RV 9.96.6.

28 RV 2.24.9.

29 According to Dumézil, "from among the three functions, namely of priests, warriors and producers, that of the priests is represented in Vedic mythology by Mitra-Varuṇa" —R. N. Dandekar: *Exercises In Indology* (*Select Writings 3*), Ajanta Publications (India), Delhi, 1981, p. 104.

30 RV 6.58.2;10. 17.3; 10.139.1.

31 McDonell A. A., op. cit., p. 35.

32 Barth A., *The Religions of India* (English Tr. Rev. J. Wood), Light & Life Publishers, N. Delhi, 1978, p. 20.

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despised by the people,[33] riding a car driven by goats, instead of horses[34] and eating gruel instead of Soma,[35] he is very much a divine prototype of the herding and tilling sections of the society.

There are Dasyus too, who seem to be both mythical and terrestrial beings[36] and stand for slaves or servants.[37]

That such distinctions among the divine beings had close parallels in the Ṛgvedic society can be easily seen from RV 1.113.6—" one to high sway, one to exalted glory, one to pursue his gain, and one his labour ". Besides, threefold division of the society into *Brahma*, *Kṣatram* and *Viśaḥ* is indicated in RV 8.35. 16-18 while four classes including the Śudra are clearly mentioned in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* (RV 10.90.12) which however, is a later composition.

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33 RV 1.38.4; 6.56.7.
34 RV 1.38.4; 6.55.3-4; 6.57.3.
35 RV 6.56.7.
36 RV 2.12.10; 1.101.5; 10.38.3; 10.86.19.
37 RV 7.86.7; Vālkh. 8.3.

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PRIESTLY-ABHICĀRA IN THE ŚRAUTA RITUAL

By
P. C. Sahoo*

Sacrificial ritual was an ageold practice of many religions of the world. It used to be performed as a means to achieve some desired objects. The priests being the real executors of such performances had always a strong hold on these ritual institutions. Therefore they were given very important position in all the religious societies. They were believed to possess the power superior even to the gods, because they claimed to control the cosmic order by their sacrificial ministration.[1] From the process of their appointment into various priestly offices and the honour given to them, it can be said that, only they, not the sacrificial performances were the true instruments for the sacrificers in obtaining their desired objects.[2] Even the situation permitted them to equalise themselves with the object of devotion. They could do and undo whatever they could wish through their mystic power.[3] As per their relation with a patron king or a rich and noble person who out of religious devotion or desire was usually organising sacrifices and thereby comming to seek the help of the priests, they could bring all sorts of mundane pleasures to him, if he could make them satisfied by paying his humble services, high respects and rich gifts. On the other hand if by any means they became dissatisfied with him then they could cause him to suffer from many worldly miseries including death.[4]

Vedic religion is based on sacrificial performances and due to the high handedness of the priests in these performances the religion is known as priestly-religion. After being appointed by the sacrificer they take all the charges of performances into their own hands while the sacrificer becomes a nominal head and acts according to their directions. Though it is their main purpose to bring

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1 cf. James. E.O., *Nature and Function of Priesthood*, London—1955; p. 224.

2 cf. Frazer, J G., *The Golden Bough* (abgd. ed), London—1963; p. 52.

3 cf. Keith, A. B., *Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upaniṣads*, HOS, vol 32. Harvard University Press, London—1925; p. 380.

4 See Thite, G.U., *Sacrifice in Brāhmaṇa Texts*, University of Poona, Poona, 1975, p 215

Rustogi, U , *Darśapūrṇamāsa a Comparative Ritualistic Study*, Delhi—1981, pp. 229-230.

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welfare, fortune and blessings of gods to the sacrificer, they some times use to act according to their desire and whim and indulge in various magical performances for or against the sacrificer It is not at all a matter of surprise that the Vedic priests practise magic. Because, the Vedic ritual itself, like the ritual practices of some other religion, is blended with magical practices of which some are beneficial and others malevolent.[5] In these magical practices also the priests play a key role and therefore, it will not be an exaggeration to call them the past masters of magical practices.[6] Evidences from Vedic texts show that good and evil of a patron king fully depend on the will of his magician priests who are well-versed in the practice of sorcery and charm. For example, in ṚV 3.53.12 Viśvāmitra supposing himself as a wizard priest claims that the race of *Bharata* thrives under the protection of his charms. A mythological story narrates that the seer Jamadagni, the house-chaplain of *Māhenas* (a royal family), got angry with his patrons and practised blackmagic against them. Thereby he could kill their cattle seven by seven in each day (*Jaiminīya Br.* 1.152). In course of the Vedic sacrificial performances there are many occasions where the priests can bring harm magically to the sacrificer if they desire so.

It is intended in this paper to discuss how the Vedic priests during the performances of *Śrauta* sacrifices are able to practise blackmagic known as *abhicāra* against the sacrificer. The ritual texts i.e., Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras have pointed out and recognised some occasions and thereby assure that it is possible on the part of the priests to indulge themselves in such evil practices during the holy performances of sacrifices. There are not less than sixteen priests divided into four groups and headed by four main priests namely *Hotṛ*, *Adhvaryu*, *Udgātṛ* and *Brahman*, required to carry out every details of *śrauta* ritual performances. In the following lines we will see some examples from the texts where these main priests are given chance to practise *abhicāra* against the sacrificer.

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5 For the relation between magic and religion see Frazer J.G., *The Golden Bough* (abgd. ed.), p. 48; Griswold., H D., *The Religion of the Ṛgveda*, Oxford, 1923, p. 337; Mauss., M., A General Theory of Magic, (translated from French by Brain, R.,) London—1972; p. 12.

6 Bhattacharya V. C , mentioned the priests as the past masters of magical practices, see his " Magical kāmya-rites in the Sāma-Vidhāna-Brāhmaṇa ", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 4, p. 325; The priests are also recognised as the descendants of magicians, see Webster H., *Magic—a Sociological Study*, London—1948, p. 298; *The Golden Bough*, p. 90; Toy C. H., " Relation between Magic and Religion ", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 20, p. 331.

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Hotṛ :—

The *Hotṛ* priest belonging to the *Ṛgveda* is supposed to carry out his duty mainly by reciting Ṛgvedic verses during the performances. It is instructed in the texts that if he wants to do any harm to the sacrificer then he may bring confusion, change the usual order, avoid recitations, insert unusual utterances and change the natural tone at the time of recitation etc. For example, in a *Soma* sacrifice at the time of reciting the *prauga śastra* (the second *śastra* recited by the *Hotṛ* at the morning pressing) the *Hotṛ* priest gets a chance to bring various harms on the sacrificer by making confusion in his recitation and this confusion he makes through passing over a line from the triplet (*tṛca*, group of three *ṛcs*) addressed to different deities. It is said in the text that if the *Hotṛ* desires to make the sacrificer deprive of his expiration then he should bring confusion in the triplet to Vāyu, if to make the sacrificer deprive of both inspiration and expiration then confusion he should bring in the triplet to Indra Vāyu. And in the same manner, in order to make him deprive of his eyes, ears, strength, limbs and speech the *Hotṛ* is instructed to confuse the recitation of the triplets to Maitrā-Varuṇa, Aśvins, Indra, Viśvedevāḥ and Sarasvatī respectively (*Aitareya Br.* 3.3.). The *Hotṛ* and his assistants have to recite the *ājya śastra* which has three constituent parts i.e., the *āhāva* (a call), the *nivid* formulas (short prose formulas of twelve clauses) and the hymn. These are to be recited serially. But if the *Hotṛ* priest wants to make the sacrificer deprive of his lordly power (*kṣatra*) then he should recite the hymn inside the *nivid* formulas. That means after calling the *āhāva* call he would utter half of the *nivid* formulas, then recite the hymn and lastly utter the other half of the *nīvads* formulas. Again if he desires to make the sacrifieer deprive of his people (*viśaḥ*) then he has to utter the *nivids* inside the hymn which means after calling the *āhāva* call he recites half of the hymn, inserts the *nivids* in the middle and then recites the remaining verses of the hymn (AB 2.23) Thus the priest intentionally changes the order of recitation for the sake of practising blackmagic. In connection with the silent praise (*tūṣṇim śaṁsa*) it is said that if the priest (*Hotṛ*) desires to make the sacrificer homeless then he should not recite the silent-praise at his sacrifice. As a result of this avoidance the sacrificer comes to ruin along with his sacrifice (AB 2.32).

In the New moon and Full moon sacrifices also the *Hotṛ* priest can apply similar procedures to harm the sacrificer. He is instructed to insert *vyāhṛtis* (the mystic utterances of the syllables *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svaḥ*) at the beginning of the recitation of each *anuvākyā* verse[7] with an intention to bestow the blessings of

7 *Anuvākyā* is an invitatory verse recited by the *Hotṛ* priest on the instruction of *Adhvaryu* priest before the *Adh.* Priest pours out the libation on the fire. It is also known as *puronuvākyā.*

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the sacrifice on the foe of the sacrificer. Thereby he makes the sacrificer deprive of the result of his sacrifice (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 1.6.10.4 and *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 3.16) when the libations are poured down on the fire by the *Adhvaryu* priest the *Hotṛ* priest recites the *yājyā* verse and at the end of *yājyā* he utters the *vaṣaṭ* call in a more raised tone than the tone in which he recited the verse But if he wants to make the sacrificer worse he should utter the *vaṣaṭ* call in a more depressed tone than the tone in which he recited the verse (AB. 3.7; *Gopatha Br.* 2.3.3; *Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra* 24. 14. 5; *Hiraṇyakeśī-Śrauta-Sūtra* 21.2.40). According to Āp ŚS 24.14.10, if the priest hates the sacrificer then instead of uttering the *vaṣaṭ* call as "*Vau* 3 *ṣaṭ*" (as is uttered normally) he should utter as "*oṣaṭ*" and thereby he is supposed to burn the sacrificer (*oṣaṭi*).

Adhvaryu :

The office of the *Adhvaryu* priest is considered to be the most responsible post. He himself carries out most of the manual rites in the *śrauta* ritual and sometimes by his permission other priest do certain rites. He is supposed to have mastery over the text of *Yajur-Veda* as he is required to utter *yajus* formulas while performing some manual rites. He is also supposed to know every details of the ritual procedures of all the sacrifices. It will be interesting to know that being the most responsible priest of the Vedic ritual the *Adhvaryu* is provided with maximum chances to practise *abhicāra* against the sacrificer. Here are some texual evidences in support of this.

While the *Adhvaryu* priest offers the *āghāra* libations in the N and FM sacrifices he is instructed to make the offering crookedly instead of straightly if he wants to make the sacrificer perish. By this crooked way of his offering the sacrificer is said to perish quickly (TS 2.5.11.7; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* 4.1.14; Āp, ŚS 2.14.2; HŚS 2.1.2) At the time of offering the second *āghāra* libation in a standing postion he usually upholds the ladle at the level of his navel If he hates the sacrificer then according to a special prescription he has to hold up the ladle below his navel while offering (MS 1.4.12; ĀP ŚS 2.14.6; H ŚS 2.1.2).

In course of the performances of the Animal sacrifice it is the duty of the *Adhvaryu* priest to select a tree out of which the sacrificial post is to be prepared. In this context it is said in the texts that with an intention to make the sacrificer supportless *Adhvaryu* priest should cut a branch of a tree instead of a tree itself. A branch is considered to be supportless (because it is not fixed in the ground) and that is why it is believed that it makes the sacrificer supportless (TS 6.3.3.4; *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* 26.3; *Kapiṣṭhala Saṁhitā* 41.1; *Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra* 7.19; Āp ŚS 7.1.18; H ŚS 4.1.1). While preparing the sacrificial post it has to be made with eight corners out of which one corner is known as *Agniṣṭha* corner. At the time of setting the post the *Adh.* priest takes care to make the *agniṣṭha* corner face towards the *āhavanīya* fire. If he wants to make the sacrificer deprive of

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his brilliance, deities, and power, he should move that corner away from the fire (TS 6.3.4.4; KS 26.5; Kap S 41.3). Two wooden articles namely *svaru* (a chip of wood) and *caṣāla*[8] (a wooden cap) are to be prepared and fixed on the post. The usual instruction is to prepare these two articles out of the same wood out of which the post is prepared. If the *Adh.* priest desires to create a rival to the sacrificer then according to a special instruction he should prepare these two articles out of a different wood (KS 26.4). In this context Āp ŚS 7.3.5 and H. ŚS 4.1.2 mention that if the priest (the *Adhvaryu*) desires that the kingdom of the sacrificer should be conquered by any other person then he should do so.

In connection with the performance of the animal sacrifice of eleven victims there are some references of intentional *abhicāra* those can be practised against the sacrificer by the *Adh.* priest. While setting up the eleven posts for the eleven victims the priest usually sets the *agniṣṭha* post in front of the *āhavanīya* fire. Towards its north and south other ten posts are to be set (five on each side) in such a manner that the northern five posts should be lower than the southern five posts. If the *Adhvaryu* desires death of the sacrificer then he should set up the posts in a 'grave' fashion (*gartamitam*) in which he makes the northern five posts higher than the southern five posts (TS 6.6.4.2; B. ŚS 17.13; Āp. ŚS 14.6.7; H. ŚS 9.8.22). While girdling the *agniṣṭha* post with the help of two ropes if he desires that a girl should be born to the sacrificer (instead of a son who is normally desired) then after girdling the post he should intertwin the girdles near their ends (TS 6.6.4.3. B ŚS 17.13; ĀP ŚS 7.11.8; H ŚS 4.2.8). To these eleven posts eleven victims are tied and they are meant for different deities. The deities to whom in the usual order the victims are tied to the posts are (starting from the northern side to southern), Sarasvatī, Pūṣan, Viśvedevāḥ, Maruts, Savitṛ, Agni, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Indra, Indrāgnī and Varuṇa (cf. B. ŚS 17.13-14). But according to TS 6.6.5.4 if the priest (*Adhvaryu*) desires that the people of the sacrificer king may fall in to confusion then he should interchange the animals while tying them to different posts.

To choose a suitable place for the performance of a Soma-sacrifice by a sacrificer is a part of duty of the *Adhvaryu* priest. This particular place is known as *devayajana*. Ancient people considered certain places as inauspicious and they believed that any ritual performed in such grounds yields harmful results. Accordingly the *Adh.* priest, as we see, with an intention to bring harm on the sacrificer is said to select such grounds for his sacrifice. Thus in KS-25.2.

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8 *Svaru* is made of the first splinter of wood obtained at the time of cutting the post from a tree-trunk. *Caṣāla* is a wooden-head-piece for the post which is to be made from the top portion of the same log of wood from which the post is made.

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it is mentioned that a place is called '*vicchinna*' or 'cut off' where a road runs just beside the ground. The priest should select a place in order to make the sacrificer destitute of cattle and offspring. According to TS 6.2.6.4 if the priest desires to cause the sacrifice of a sacrificer to be seized by destruction (*nirṛti*) then for that sacrificer he should choose a ground which is seized by destruction. And that place is considered to be seized by destruction which is a bare patch of level ground. This is really a barren land where no plants or trees can grow.

Let us see some examples from the great fire-building-rite (*agnicayana*). There is an offering-rite of six oblations called *ādhītayajus* to Agni with the utterance of six short formulas (mentioned in MS 2.7.7; TS 4.1.9.1) at the time of making fire in the fire-pan. In order to make the sacrificer deaf the *Adh.* priest is instructed to offer the libation at once after uttering all the formulas (MS 3.1.9; Āp. ŚS 16.8.14). While preparing the ground for the fire-altar the priest has to put down a pan full of sands. If he wants to make the sacrificer hungry then he should put down a pan which is deficient (*nyūnā*). That means he should not fill up the pan with sands fully (TS 5.2.9.1; Āp.ŚS 16.26.10; H.ŚS 11.7.50). At the time of setting bricks on the second layer of the fire-altar there are some bricks called *vayasyā* (strengthening bricks) and *apasyā* (water-bricks) to be set. According to the prescribed order the *Adh.*-priest has to put down the *apasyā* bricks first and then the *vāyasyā* bricks. But he can put the bricks in a reversed order in case he desires to make the sacrificer destitute of his cattle (TS 5.3.1.4; KS 20.10: Kap S 13.12; Āp ŚS 17.1.9). While offering the *vasordhārā* offerings in the same fire-building rite if he wants to separate the life-breath and eating of food from the sacrificer then instead of a continuous flow he should offer in a disconnected manner. That means he should break the flow of the offering in the middle (TS 5.8.4. 1-2; Āp. ŚS. 17.17.9; H. ŚS. 12.6.2).

There are many occasions inside a Soma sacrifice where the *Adhvaryu* and his assistants can practise *abhicāra* against the sacrificer. For instance, after drawing the *upāṁśu* cup if the priest desires that there should be no rain (in the region of the sacrificer king) then before offering the cup he should rub the cup with his hands upwards. Thereby he is supposed to keep the rain away from the region of the sacrificer (TS. 6.4.5.6; Āp. ŚS. 12.11.4). While the priest draws the *ukthya* cup the proper place where he should stand is in between *sadas* and the oblation holder (cart). But he can draw the cup standing between the *āhavanīya* and the oblation holder if he desires to bestow the blessings of the sacrifice upon himself (instead of on the sacrificer). (TS. 6.5.1.4-5: MS. 4.6.5; KS. 27.10; Āp. ŚS. 12.2 91; H. ŚS. 8.8.24). In the morning pressing *Adh.* priest anoints (mixes) the *vasativrī* water with the butter from the ladle called *pracarṇī* and puts the ladle on the tip of the pole of the southern oblation holder (cart). With an intention to make the sacrificer impotent he may put it down below the cart instead of on the tip of its pole (H. ŚS. 8.14). After offering the *upāṁśu* and

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antaryāma cups the *Adh.* priest should put down the empty cups keeping a close contact with the *upāṁśu savana* (a pressing stone). If he desires the sacrificer's death then he is told to put the cups without having any contact with the stone. These two cups and stone are identified with expiration, inspiration and cross-breathing respectively. By putting the cups in this changed manner the priest is supposed to severe the expiration and inspiration from the cross breathing of the sacrificer (TS. 6.4.6.4; Āp. ŚS. 12.13.10; H. ŚS. 8.4.9).

Udgātṛ :

The main function of the *Udgātṛ* priest and his assistants is to chant *sāmans* and *stomas* in a *Soma* sacrifice. Some times they are also required to do some manual actions during the performances. The *Udgātṛ* priest while doing some manual actions and chanting *stomas* can practise *abhicāra* against the sacrificer. Below are some examples of this.

Before the pressing of *soma*-juice starts in the morning pressing of a *Soma* sacrifice it is the duty of the *Udgātṛ* priest and his assistants to put down the pressing stones in a proper order under the southern oblation holder (cart) and push away the *droṇa kalaśa* (a wooden tub) forward on the stones. In this context if the *Udgātṛ* priest desires to make the sacrifice of the sacrificer demoniac and to possess himself the power of speech of the sacrificer then at the time of pushing away the wooden tub he should touch the axle of the cart with his arms (*Tāṇḍya Mahā Br.* 6.5.11). In the normal procedure there is an instruction for the priest not to touch the axle of the cart while pushing away the wooden tub. If by mistake the axle is touched by the priest then it is considered as a ritual fault and as an expiatory rite the priest is advised to push away the wooden tub again without touching the axle. At the time of putting down the pressing stones in a proper order i.e., with their thick ends towards each other, the *Udgātṛ* priest, if hates the sacrificer is instructed to put the stones with their thick ends (faces) averted and while shoving the wooden tub on these stones he should utter " here I shove away from the clan so and so, from the food thus and thus, so so, the member of the gotra so and so, the son of the mother so and so ". By this he is supposed to shove the sacrificer as under from his clan and from food. (TMB. 6.6.2; *Lāṭyāyana ŚS.* 1.10. 10-13; *Drāhyāyaṇa ŚS.* 3.2. 12-17). If he desires of the sacrificer (if he is a noble) that ' he may be slain by his clan ' then he should shove asunder the pressing stones, put down the wooden tub on the ground and lay on it the *upāṁśu savana* (a pressing-stone) with the formula " here I slay by the clan so and so, the noble so and so ". Thereby he believes to slay the noble by his clan (TMB. 6.6.5; L. ŚS. 1.10-13; D. ŚS. 3.2.18).

While chanting the seventeen fold prayer (*saptadaśa stoma*) in the *Soma* sacrifice of a sacrificer whom the chanter (the *Udgātṛ* priest) hates, he is instruc-

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ted to apply the *viṣṭuti*[9] called *bhastrā*. Thereby he is said to be able to blow away the cattle of the Soma sacrificer (T. MB. 2.13.2). At the time of offering the *pravṛta* oblations, if the *Udgātṛ* priest hates the sacrificer then he is advised to think in his mind of the voice. As a result of which he himself possesses the voice or the power of speech of his enemy (the sacrificer) (TMB. 6.7.8). Thus the Sāmavedic-priest is also provided with chances to go against the sacrificer.

Brahman :—

In comparision with other three priests the fourth main priest i.e. *Brahman* has been assigned with less actions though he is regarded as the supervisor of the entire performance. Still here is an example given to show his intentional practice of *abhicāra* against the sacrificer. In the fire-building-rite at the time of the ceremony of carrying fire from *gārhapatya* to *āhavanīya* (*agnipraṇayana*) the *Brahman* priest has to make a wheel of a chariot revolve round for three times starting from the side of *gārhapatya* towards *āhavanīya* inside the sacrificial boundary. In case he hates the sacrificer, he should revolve round the wheel for six times (instead of three) (Āp. ŚS. 5.14.6; H. ŚS. 3.4.10).

It is also possible and quite natural on the part of the priests to bring harm magically on their fellow priests during the ritual performances. In this connection it should be remembered that the priestly offices are considered to be very prestigious and full of dignity. Individuals wellversed in priestly activities always try to occupy these posts under the patronage of a king or a noble or a rich person so that they can earn much money in the form of rich gifts. That is why it is quite natural that such individuals become jealous and find occasion to harm each other. One such evidence we find in ṚV 3.53.21-24 where Viśvāmitra expresses his wounded pride and threaten vengeance against a person (most probably Vasiṣṭha) who occupied the same position, power and prestige which Viśvāmitra had enjoyed earlier. Under the patronage of the king Sudās both of them had become priests in different times and that is one of the causes of their rivalry. Another evidence is found during the ritual performance of *Soma* sacrifice. After offering the *manthin* cup in the *āhavanīya* fire, unlike the other pots, the priest should not take the pot to the *sadas* pendal. This cup is regarded as a cup of disease. If the priest who offers the juice hates any one of the fellow priests then only he is instructed to take it to the pendal for the sake of his hated priest alone. As a result he is supposed to afflict that particular priest with disease (MS. 4.6.3; Āp. ŚS. 12.23.12).

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9 *Viṣṭuti* is a ritual term for the technic of chanting the *stomas*, for details about *viṣṭuti* see Caland's tr. to *Pañca-Viṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1931, p. 19 (introduction to the chapter II and III).

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This mutual enemity among the participants i.e. the priest and the sacrificer of a *Soma* sacrifice was so frequent that it created hinderances on the process of smooth performances of Vedic sacrifices. Therefore, inside the *Soma*-sacrifice a particular ceremony was introduced in the form of a treaty or friendly tie among the participants. The ceremony is known as *tānūnaptra*-rite in which an oblation of *ājya* (dedicated to *Tānūnapāt*, the self generated one i.e. Agni) is to be touched by the priests and the sacrificer and they pledge themselves not to injure each other (at least till the end of the performance) (For this rite see TS. 6.22; MS. 3.7.10; KS. 24.9; *Śatapatha Br.* 3.4.2). According to TS. 6.2.2.2; KS. 24.9 and MS. 3.7.10 among those who perform *tānūnaptra* rite if any one hostiles first then he goes to destruction. Thus this rite can be considered as a formal check on the arbitrary behaviours of the priests. But it can not be said that due to this rite the priests stopped practising *abhicāra* for ever. Because *abhicāra* was the only means in their hand to punish and take revange upon a stronger enemy like a king, a noble or a rich person who some times insults them by not giving satisfactory gift or not paying proper respect and service.

On the basis of the above discussion certain concluding remarks can be given. (I) *Abhicāra* seems to be a regular practice among the Vedic people for, it comes side by side to the sacred sacrificial ritual. The Vedic texts duly recognised and preserved the tradition of such practices by giving special instructions where ever it is possible on the part of the priests to do so in the course of the sacrificial performances. (II) These instructions are mainly of the nature of bringing various changes and modifications on the normal procedure, avoiding certain usual rites, adding or inserting something extra to the regular manual and verbal rites etc. (III) As regards to various harms which the priests desire to bring on the sacrificer, we see, they not only aim against the person of the sacrificer (both physical and mental) but also against his sacrifice, family, kingdom and subjects. (IV) It seems that in course of time some preventive measures have been taken to check such evil practices inside the sacrificial ritual, but due to the priests inclination to practise so it could not be possible to control them permanently.

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TANTRA IN MEDITATION : FROM THE MEDIEVAL INDIA TO TIBETAN BUDDHISM

By
MALAYA KUMAR MOHANTY*

The study and appreciation of Tibetan Buddhist culture is a comparatively recent development. There are many reasons for the fact that an immensely important field in the history of ideas has been neglected for such a long time. The remoteness and inaccessibility of Tibet has tended to shroud what the Tibetans thought, and on what they build their civilization, in mystery, and the myth that Tibetan literature is but a mass of translations from Sanskrit and Middle-Indian vernaculars, perpetuated by academics in the East and the West alike and re-endorsed by a certain segment of the Tibetans themselves that recognizes only Indian sources. Of the Indian *yogis* who made a deep impact upon the Tibetan imagination, the foremost was Padmasaṁbhava,[1] whom Tibetans to this day revere as the ' precious *guru* '. With him entered into Tibet not only Indian magic and metaphysics but also Indian methods of meditation. Tibetan meditation is essentially Tāntric in its orientation as well as background. But some of its aspects have disappeared from the Indian context. The reason for this strange occurence is to be sought in the total destruction of the medieval Indian Universities (like Nālandā, Vikramaśilā and Jāgaddala) in Magadha during the Muslim invasion in the thirteenth century. These centres of learning were the scenes of intensive literary and Tantra-Yoga activities of some of the eminent Siddhas (like Śānti-pā, Nāro-pā, Atiśā-Dipaṁkara and Maitri-pā), who had reconciled the traditional Yoga with the Yoga of Mahāyāna innovation. The Vajrayāna that emerged as a result of this confluence was undoubtedly the continuation of Indian tradition, although its spread was on the other side of the Himalayan ranges. The Indian Siddhas, battered by the severity of religious persecution in Magadha, fled to the security with their books and their practices. Tibet not only welcomed them warmly, but eagerly accepted their religious leadership. This was because hundreds of Tibetan scholars were already acquainted with this brand of Tantra-Yoga as students in Magadha Universities. In fact, many Sanskrit texts had already been translated into the Tibetan language; and there were may Tibetans who were excellent scholars in Sanskrit.

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1 According to Tshal-pa deb-dmar by Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, Padmasaṁbhava was called by King Khri-srong-ide-btsan to guide Tibetan monks.

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Three *krāntas* or 'circles' of worship and ritualistic tradition is common to all Tāntric texts, Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina. Bagchi writes :[2] 'There is ample evidence to prove that the zone of heterodox Tantras went far beyond the natural limits of India. Some of the Tantras divide the Tāntric world into three *krāntas* or regions, Viṣṇukrānta, Aśvakrānta and Rathakrānta. Aśvakrānta comprises the region from the Vindhya mountains (in central India) to Mahācina including Nepal, and Rathakrānta from the Vindhya to the great ocean including Combodia and Java ..'.

This division into three vaguely circumscribed regions is rather typical 'religious geography' in India; it is sufficiently broad so as to include whatever region was not really accessible to the compilers, or what they knew from pious hearsay. Most scholars in India seem to agree that Mahācina and Bhoṭa (the Indian name for Tibet) are synonyms, but it is not quite sure that Mahācina ever meant Tibet; the late Dr. Raghuvira told that it was Mangolia, and this is what Bagchi appears to have held.[3] There is no text in Tāntric literature which would indicate a serious attempt to demarcate any regions lying outside India. We have a parallel in the most-read sacred literature of the Hindus, the Purāṇas– 'Suvarṇadvīpa', i.e. the 'Golden Continent' is mentioned in all of them, but the referends differ-the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*[4] calls it *pālevyo pūrve sthita*, 'located eastward from the Pālas, i.e. Bengal', which might mean Burma or perhaps Siam; the more recent *Skandapurāṇa*[5] refers to Suvarṇadvīpa as *āgneyeṣu vistṛtaḥ* 'stretched out in the south-east', which would point to the usually accepted identification of Suvarṇadvīpa with Indonesia.[6]

In the reign of the kings of the Yar-klung dynasty (7th-9th century A.D.), the central empire of Tibet reached its pinnacle of power. At that time the political borders of Tibet expanded far beyond the territory of the cultural and

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2 *Studies in Tantras*, Part I, p. 46f.

3 See *Studies in the Tantras*, Vol. I, p. 46, where he refers to lists of countries in Tāntric texts, in this manner : 'Bāhlika (Balkh), Kirāta (the hill tribes of the Himālayan zone), Bhoṭa (Tibet), Cina (China), Mahācina (Mangolia ?) . ', i.e. putting a question mark behind Mangolia as a possible equivalent of 'Mahacina'.

4 V. 20, Gītāpress edition.

5 Sastri Nilakantha *History of Southern India*, p. 222.

6 The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in its present version is of the seventh or eighth century, according to V. S. Aggrawala; the *Skandapurāṇa* is much later, i.e. perhaps fourteenth century; the Tamilian Peripuranam which dates back to the ninth century provided much of the material for the huge *Skandapurāṇa* in its present form; South India dynasties were the founders of the Shailendra and other empires in South East Asia.

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language zone.[7] These political borders were, however, eclipsed by the influence Tibet exercised on the surrounding countries. Already in the Tibetan middle age the political territory started to dwindle away, and its shrinkage continued into modern times. Thus the Autonomous Region of Tibet, which is now under the rule of Communist China, is only a very modest remainder of the former empire of the Yar-klung dynasty kings-just as the Federal Republic of Western Germany comprises only a miniscule part of what was once the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations. For a long time then, the zone of Tibetan culture and language included large areas that had not been a political part of it. Recently Tibet's scope of influence was extended to areas which never before had come in contact with Tibetan culture. When areas, culturally belonging to Tibet, were not clearly under the rule of the Yar-klung kings or their successors in central Tibet, we term 'border regions' without defining their political status. Areas settled predominantly by non-Tibetans even though they were part of the Yar-klung dynasty's domain are not considered Tibet proper.

We hardly trust Tibetan sources when they tell us about the conquest of large parts of India by Tibetan rulers, with which Tārānatha's History is replete; chiefly because no Indian sources whatever corroborate these reports. It is thinkable that Tārānath did not really mean a region beyond Nepal or beyond Bengal when he speaks of 'Central India'.[8] Tibetan warrior chiefs seem to have made inroads into Magadha and Bengal, and perhaps the regions adjacent to western Nepal, i.e. the districts of Almora and Gorakhpur in Uttarpradesh. Nothing comprehensive has yet been written about these Tibetan conquests on Indian territory; there are scattered references in volumes 3,4 and 5 of the encyclopaedic *History and Culture of the Indian People*.[9] One of the very few reliable sources of Indian Historiography is the famous *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by the Kashmiri court scholar Kalhaṇa, who flourished in the twelfth century A.D.[10] In this enthusiastic treatment of king Lalitāditya, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in about A.D. 724, Kalhaṇa reports the king was 'eager for conquests and passed his life chiefly on expenditions'. He sent a diplomatic mission to the Chinese Emperor in A.D. 733 to induce him to make common cause against

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7 Shakabpa, *Tibeta—a political history*, p. 27.

8 Vd. Schiefner, Tārānatha's Geschichte, passim.

9 Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, beginning 1955; the whole work is scheduled for ten volumes, six of which have so far been published. See also G. Petech's excellent *History of Medieval Nepal*, ISMEO, Rome, 1960.

10 Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, edited by Durga Prasad, Bombay, 1892, English translation by M. A. Stein, London, 1900, and another translation by R. S. Pandit, Allahabad, 1935. U. N. Goshal's *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta University Press, 1955, contains an elaborate account of the work.

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the Tibetans.[11] In his enumeration of countries and kings whom Lalitāditya defeated, Kalhaṇa writes,[12] 'he conquered the Kambojas,[13] the Tukharas, Bhauṭṭas (i.e. Tibetans), Dāradas (i.e. the Dardic groups of which the actual Kashmiris are a part), and vanquished a king named Mammuni'

In the first half of the eighth century, Tibet wielded enormous influence over Nepal. In a grant of the Licchavi king Śivadeva, dated A D. 714, there is a reference to 'Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi' or a corvee payable to Tibet.[14] That Nepal was a vassal to Tibet during this era is not documented by any Indian or Tibetan source, except for this casual reference to the corvee; there is only a Chinese source which throws light on this phase.[15]

The Tibetans may have held portions of Bengal for a short time seems to be supported by the fact that the early Arab Travellers Ibn Haukal and Iṣṭakhri who wrote in the tenth century, refer to the Bay of Bengal as 'Tibetan Sea'![16] As to the exact extent of their actual conquests in India, we have to rely on Tibetan sources, due to the complete lack of Indian material.[17] A thirteenth-

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11 According to Bagchi, official correspondence was exchanged between China and Kashmir in A D. 724, vd. *Sino-Indian Studies*, I, 71; the Chinese official history, so Bagchi writes, says that 'the Emperor awarded the title "King of Kashmir" to Lalitāditya'. Vd. also R. C. Majmudar, 'Northern India Between 650 and 750', in *The Classical Age*, p. 133f.

12 *Rājataraṅgiṇī, ibid.*

13 They are Himālayan tribe and have nothing to do whith Combodia.

14 *Levi, S. Nepal*, II, 157f.

15 See the account of Nepal given in the 'History of T'ang Dynasty' in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1894, part II, pp. 64-5; according to this, the author of *Che-ki-fan-che*, compiled in A.D. 650, says that the kingdom of Nepal is really a Tibetan vassal state. Refer also R.C. Majumdar, 'Northern India During A.D. 650-750' in *The Classical Age*, p. 136.

16 Vd. Ferrand, *Relations des Voyages et Textes Geographiques Arabs relatifes a l' Extreme Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe Siecles*, Paris, 1913-14.

17 R.C. Majumdar, in 'Colonial and Cultural Expansion', Ch. XIV of *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay 1955, sums it up in the following manner; According to the chronicles of Tibet her kings exercised political domination over parts of India during the period A.D. 750-850. The Tibetan King Khristron-lde-btsan (ruled from 755 to 797) is said to have subdued the frontier provinces including "China in the East and India in the South". His son Mu-khri-btsan-po (ruled 798-804) subjugated two or three (parts of) Jambudvīpa and forced the Pāla King Dharmapāla and another Indian King to pay tribute (This might well be the 'Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi' or corvee refered to on the Khajuraho inscriptions). The next important King Ral-pa-ea-can (Circa 817-836) conqured India as far as

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century work in Old Bengali, the *Prākṛta-paiṅgalam*,[18] says that the king of Kasi fought successfully with the kings of Gauḍa, Vaṅga Kaliṅga, Telaṅgaṇā, Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣṭra, Champaraṇa, Nepala, Bhoṭa Cinā, Lahovara (Lahore), 'Oḍṛā and Mālavā. D.C. Ganguly[19] thinks that the 'King of Kasi' (i.e. Banaras) is Govindacandra of the Gahadavala Dynasty, of Rajput provenance; Govindacandra ruled approximately from A.D. 1114 to 1154. The enumeration of Bhoṭa and Cinā as separate small regions like Lahore and Champaraṇa seems to imply that some border regions are meant by Tibet or China. According to the Kumaoni-Hindi speaking people in the District of Almora, Bhoṭa means the district adjacent to their own in the North and they would probably think of just two small areas, Gurbiang on the Indian and Taghlakot on the Tibetan side of the Indo-Nepalese-Tibetan corner of the Almora District. They do not, however, mean just the area inhabited by the Bhūṭiyas, a Hindu group with a Tibetan ethnical and a mixed linguistic background (Bhūṭiya is structurally Tibetan with a very large percentage of Indian words), because the Bhūṭiyas live in settlements between Kumaon villages, and not beyond Garbiang.[20]

It seems to me reasonable to assume that the tāntric elements were imported into Tibet along with the Buddhist percepts. King Lha-tho-tho-ri[21] is referred to be the first Buddhist King during whose reign some sacred objects were presented by an Indian Embassy. The very lineage starting with La-tho-tho-ri is called the Happy Generations (*skyid-pa'igdung-rabs*).[22] During the lifetime of King Lha-tho-tho-ri-there fell a golden stūpa, a Buddhist book and a wish-bestowing jewel

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Gaṅgāsāgara which has been taken to mean the mouth of the Ganges. How far these Tibetan claims of conquest and supèremacy in the Indian plains can be regarded as historical, it is difficult to say. We have no reference in Indian sources to any military campaign of the Tibetans in India or to their exercising political suzerainty in any part of the country..... ' p. 445.

18 The somewhat obscure Bengali poet *Prākṛta Piṅgala* and his poetry was a sort of Brahmanical counterpart to the Buddhist Caryāpādas (vd. Chapter on 'Sandhābhāsa); it was cited by C.M. Ghosh, *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1900-2.

19 'Northern India During the Eleventh and Twelth centuries', in *The Struggle for Empire*, Bombay, 1957.

20 Informant Mr. Mohanalal Shah, Lohaghat, Dt. Almora. *The Linguistic survey of India* lists four Bhūṭiya dialects for this area : Rangkas, Chaudangsi, Byangsi and Janggal.

21 This king is to be supposed to have lived during the third century of A.D. (Haarh, *Yar-luṅ dynasty*, p. 132). According to Shakabpa, *Tibet-A political history* (p. 24), he was born, however, in the year 173 A.D.

22 Haarh, *Yar-luṅ dynasty*, p. 81.

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from heaven upon the roof of the castle Yum-bu-bla-sgang, and a voice was heard from heaven to declare : " After five generations one shall appear who will understand their significance ". Thus we are told in a Tibetan legend.

As to the Tibetan border regions, there are indications that not only Buddhist texts and sacred objects were present but also that Buddhist teachings were already known. East Tibetan tribes infiltrated into China already in the 4th century A.D. The proto-Tibetan Ti and Ch'iang tribes from Lopnor region and Western Kansu, had infiltrated from the West and were living in great numbers in eastern Kansu, Shensi, and Ssuch'uan.[23] One can justifiably conclude that, at least in Eastern Tibet, there existed during and after the time of Lha-tho-tho-ri a solid knowledge of Buddhism and that the upper classes[24] of the people were faithfully devoted to it But the border regions in the north and west probably had also come into contact with Buddhism long before the time of Srong-btsan-sgam-po. Buddhist teachings reached China via a route along the western and northern borders of the Tibetan culture and language zone; the same route was travelled by Indian Pandits and Chinese pilgrims in their endeavour to bring this Indian religion to China.[25] There used to be contacts with the Tibetan population in these border regions. It is possible that the knowledge gained from these encounters was spread by merchants over large areas of Tibet. Thus, when Srong-btsan-sgam-po succeeded to the throne of Tibet in the year 627, the country was ready for a systematic missionary drive under royal patronage.[26] During his reign Jo-Khang and Ra-mo-che, the two main temples of Lha-sa were built. King Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-797) continued to spread Buddhism with great enthusiasm and devotion. The crowning of all his efforts was the construction of *bSamyas* (755) the first Tibetan monastery; in this seven Tibetan monks (*Sad-mi-mi-bdun*) lived under the guidance of Indian Buddhist scholars.[27] In addition King Khri-srong-lde-btsan had called famous masters of contemporary Buddhism to Tibet. Among those were Śāntarakṣita, Padmasaṁbhava Vimalamitra, Śāntigarbha, Viṣṇuddhasiṁha, Dharmakīrti, Jinamitra, Dāna ila, Kamalaśīla. Padmasaṁbhava and Vimalamitra are most important to us.

During this time[28] many Sanskrit texts concerning the *Tantra-yoga* were translated into Tibetan, and numerous new treatises were written by Indian

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23 Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China.* Vol. I, p. 81.

24 Zürcher, Op. Cit., p. 212.

25 Snellgrove-Richardson, *Cultural History of Tibet*, p. 71.

26 Tucci, *Religionen*, p. 276 : there is the year 620 (?) reported, in Shakabpa, *Tibet-a political history* (p. 25) the year 630, and in Shellgrove-Richardson, *Cultural History of Tibet* (p. 275) the year 627 A.D.

27 cf. *Minor Buddhist Texts* II, p. 12f.

28 Rao, S. K. Ramchandra *Tibetan Meditation*, p. 15ff.

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Pandits and Siddhas in the Tibetan language expounding the *Vajrayāna* synthesis in Indian tradition. This explains how a large number of Sanskrit works which are no longer extant in India are available in Tibet, some in original, but most of them in translations. An initial look would suggest that the *Tantra-yoga* tradition in Tibet is almost an indigenous one, because of the vast differences in details and forms from its Indian model. But, a close look would convince one that it is essentially Indian and that it was assimilated into the Traditional tradition. While the basic manuals and guide-books, and the theoretical presuppositions and arguments are no doubt Indian, there has been a remarkable development in this field in Tibet, owing to the genius of the Tibetan masters. Saved from the uncertain political wrangles that were then so peculiar to India, they could concentrate on the practical aspects of the Indian tradition in the quiet seclusion of their monasteries. A land of silence and loneliness. Tibet perhaps was peculiarly set to develop a mystical and meditational religion. Many of the saints in that country were remarkable for their perseverance in practice, for their extraordinary introspective bent of mind, and for their striking originality in expounding meditational methods. A rich literature concerning *Tantra-Yoga* has therefore grown steadily in Tibet; and luckily a valuable bulk of it has been preserved, despite historical vicissitudes.

However, the relationship of King Khri-srong-lde-btsan with Padmasaṁbhava, the Old school master of sometime dubious repute, is present in all our sources, especially in the hagiographies of the *Discoverers of Concealed Teachings* (*gTer-ston*). In these works, the king is rarely called by his name; mostly he is identified by his title only: "The king who complied with Buddha-Dharma" (*Chos-rgyal*). It is to be noted, however, that apart from this special circle of the Old School literature, all Yar-Klung kings starting with Lha-tho-tho-ri had a right to this title.

Old School and New School

In respect of the Old School (*rNying-ma-pa*), comparisons may be made, to some extent, with the development of occidental Christianity. Just as the Roman Catholic Church can only be understood as such in its opposition to the Protestant Church; the Old School followers (*rNyiang-ma-pa*) understood themselves as such only when Atiśa came to Tibet in 1042,[29] introduced some reforms according to the Indian teaching tradition, and when the followers of these reforms called themselves The New School (*gSar-ma-pa*). After this development, the previous, partly heterogeneous, traditions were gathered uniformly under the term The Old School (*rNying-ma-pa*). Just as little as one can deny the continuity of the Roman Catholic Church beyond Luther, one cannot deny that the

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29 cf. Chattopadhyaya, *Atiśa and Tibet*, p. 291 and Tucci, *Rin-c'enbzaṅ-po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al mille*, p. 12ff.

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rNying-ma-pa form the oldest Buddhist school in Tibet The exceedingly stormy history of the first Buddhist missionary period (*snga-dar*) has been described repeatedly, most recently by Tucci.[30] In this work stress is laid for the first time on the continued interlacing of political group interests with religio-dogmatic ambitions. A brief sketch of the various intellectual tendencies will be of some help.

The Indian pandits, represented mainly by Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśila, and his disciple Ye-śes-dbang-po, form a known group. These scholars were all defenders of the Madhyamaka school, which is based upon Nāgārjuna's teachings. First of all, however, they taught the ten rules of behaviour of the Buddhist ethics (*śīla*) and a summary of the teachings according to the canonic *Sūtra*s of the Mahāyāna, as well as the virtuous works of the six *pāramitā*s. These exercises are supposed to lead, in a long, seemingly endless way, to the gradual ascent to the acquisition of higher intellectual abilities finally culminating in Buddhahood. This trend was intensified after the debate of bSam-yas had taken place in the years 792 to 794;[31] the exact outcome of this debate is still debatable.[32]

Current ideas among the Indian Siddhas penetrated Tibet; Padmasaṁbhava and Vairocana are representing some of these ideas. The teachings of these Siddhas are difficult to grasp because they were transmitted secretly " from the mouth of the teacher to the ear of the disciple "; however, texts such as the *bKa' babs-bdun-ldan*, the hagiographies of the masters of the bKa'-brgyud-pa School,[33] and the works of other mystics of the Siddha tradition (in which the hagiographies of the *Discoverers of Concealed Teachings* are included) give us certain hints.

There have been both elaborate and brief commentaries in Tibetan on all major texts of Indian origin. What are more valuable, however, are the ' oral percepts ' and ' personal notes ' in the zealous possession of many lama-masters. They are naturally looked upon as precious and confidential; they are communicated to the practitioner only after initiation and successful completion of preliminary practice. Some of the oral percepts have been commited to writing, and some personal notes have indeed been made public. Much material, however, is in manuscripts and in the personal possession of lamas.

Levels of Meditation :

In the Tibetan way of thinking, living beings are classified under three broad divisions and each division is described as a meeting place (*hDu*·) of kind-

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30 Tucci, *Religionen*, p. 13ff.

31 *Minor Buddhist texts* II, p. 32.

32 Tucci, *Religionen*, p. 25ff.

33 Bacot, *La vie de Mar-pa*; Guenther, *The life and teaching of Naropa;– The royal songs of Saraha.*

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red spirits, viz., beings with similar faculties of perception and action.[34] But it is also a combination of particular aspects of life. The distinguishing feature in the divisions is the presence or absence or 'conscious con-ception' (*hDu-Shes*, in Sanskrit *saṁjñā*), the capacity to think and reason, to be aware of oneself and the surrounding. The world is a concatenation of these divisions and aspects; it is indeed a 'con-fection' (*hDu-Byid*, in Sanskrit *saṁskāra*). The basic idea is one of coming together, a patterning of factors and events. The first division of living beings is characterized by the obvious presence of the thinking faculty, of the capacity to reason (*Shes*). Human beings are included in this group. The second is distinguished by the absence of this faculty, and it includes higher animals that operate not on reason but on the basis of instincts and impulses. The third division comprises of the lower animals that do not appear to have even instincts or impulses. They refer to animal-like propensities which have to be sacrificed. Goats, buffaloes and so on which are expected to be sacrificed at the altar of the goddess are symbolic in their nature.[35] The Tibetan nomenclature for the last division, "without either presence or absence of thinking" (*hDu-Shes-med-Min*), suggests the inapplicability of the criterion of reason for this group. The first division is rational and moral, the second irrational and immoral; and for the third group the ideas of reason or morality do not apply.

The religion in Tibet, however, being Tāntrik in essential orientation, naturally idealizes the status of the saint and attaches great value to meditational practices. But there is a ready recognition that the first group of human beings are the most numerous; the bulk of mankind anywhere in the world gets in here. Religion addresses itself to them with grave misgivings. But the second group, while not so numerous, is considerably vast. Religion is more hopeful of them, although limitations are of course there. The religion prescribed for them is mainly a pattern of virtuous living, pious transaction, prayer and worship. Faith in mind (*Dad-pa*), recitation of texts or religion in speech (*CHos-hDon*), and in body prostrations (*pHyag*) and circum-ambulations (*bsKor-ba*), together with offerings (*mChod-pa*); these constitute the essential functional religion for the Tibetan laity. Meditational practice is not obligatory for them. Even among the ordained monks, its employment may be said to be minimal. But those who come together in the third group are the more earnest among the laity as well as among monastic settlements. Meditation occupies in their life a favoured position. They are well on the 'way' (*Lam*), in the direction of the goal. For them the 'road is open' (*Lam-Tar*); there are no obstructions either from the field of Desire or from that of Form.

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34 Rao S. K. Ramchandra, *Tibetan Meditation*, p. 16ff.

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THE ISSUES OF TIME AND HISTORY AND THE ENCOUNTER OF WORLD-RELIGIONS*

By

ANINDITA NIYOGI BALSLEV†

Questions about time and history are perhaps amongst the most discussed as well as debated of contemporary issues. One is confronted with not a simple conceptual challenge but with rival theories whose diversity is a witness to the complexity and difficulty pertaining to these issues. This becomes all the more evident in an inter-cultural and an inter-religious context. The existing literature on the subject makes us aware of a series of conceptual models in the different philosophical traditions. Some attempts have been made to study these in a global setting. It is especially these which indicate the wide scope of the interpretations of these views which is not restricted to a merely academic understanding of these questions without any further consequence. It can be seen to have an impact on our appraisal of culture patterns, or to have a bearing on the question of encounter of religions. This paper is an attempt to question some stereotype interpretations of the Indian understanding of these issues as it is projected in an inter-cultural frame of theological significance.

A global history of ideas can sufficiently bear witness to the fact that a given philosophical tradition in any specific culture-frame has invariably different ideas which either explicitly or implicitly touch upon various aspects of these issues. The theological dimension of these ideas is also evident. A very pertinent observation regarding a philosophical as well as religious involvement with these ideas has been made by Paul Tillich :

> " In every religious interpretation of history, philosophical elements are implied—first of all, a philosophy of time; and in every philosophical interpretation of history religious elements are implied—first of all, an interpretation of the meaning (or meaninglessness) of existence. Wherever existence itself is to be interpreted, the difference between philosophy and theology decreases, and both meet in the realm of myth and symbol ". [1 p. 17].

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These insightful words have to be taken into serious consideration if a cross-cultural exchange between philosophico-religious traditions is to be fruitful and effective.

One of the points I want to emphasise here is that many of the stereotypes about Indian thought are precisely due to not seeing this large inter-connection between philosophical concepts, religious doctrines, myths and symbols. One such stereotype, which has received most publicity in the broad and general distinctions drawn between the Indo-Hellenic and the Judeo-Christian views about time, is that the Indo-Hellenic conception of time is circular whereas the Judeo-Christian is linear. The idea that the Indian view of time is cyclic is so widespread that it has become a cliche. It is repeated endlessly and hardly ever questioned. However, an investigation into the original sources of the Indian conceptual experience of time does not support this conclusion.

A survey of Indian philosophy rather discloses several distinct conceptual models of time.[2] A wide range of contrasting views developed in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina philosophico-religious traditions. If time is appearance for some, others maintain the reality of absolute time. Amongst those who regard time as objectively real, some say it is discrete and regard continuity as a mental construction—a position which others deny. There are still others who emphasise that the distinction between time as instant and being as instantaneous is not ontological but merely linguistic and conventional. The Indian philosophers also differed a great deal as to what is objectively given and what is a conceptual construction. They also entertain different views as to how time is known—by perception or by inference, for example. There is a vast polemical literature where the debates concerning these and other aspects of the problem are recorded. This diversity of views can be ignored only at the expense of projecting a false image of the philosophical culture of India.

And yet we find so perceptive a historian as Toynbee ascribing to the Indian mind a philosophy of sheer recurrence. On this view, Toynbee says, "We are the perpetual victim of an everlasting cosmic practical joke, which condemns us to endure our sufferings and to overcome our difficulties and to purify ourselves of our sins—only to know in advance that the automatic and inevitable lapse of a certain meaningful measure of time cannot fail to stultify all our human exertion by reproducing the same situation again and again ad infinitum just as if we had never exerted at all" [3 p. 117-153]. This is an incorrect appraisal of the Indian understanding of history, as though according to it events merely happen and keep on recurring mechanically and human action plays an insignificant part. To think of history in terms of happenings which are thoroughly predetermined is to deny the importance of action (*karma*), a concept, however difficult and subtle in all its implications, has a final and irrevo-

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cable place in Indian thought. Time without number, the mythologies, while not suggesting a theory of predestination, rather point to the law of *karma*, the efficacy of human action.

Curiously enough, the idea of cyclic time has never been an issue for debate between the schools nor can it be identified as the view of any particular school. Briefly speaking, an analysis of the appellation ' cyclic ' has hardly any relevance within the frame of Indian thought alone. The necessity for probing into its meaning arises only in the inter-cultural context. An early document highly important for this purpose is to be found in St. Augustine's *City of God*.[4] While polemising against the Greek view of ' circular time ', St. Augustine thus describes that view (which he repudiates in the name of Christ) :

> " . as those others think, the same measures of time and the same events in time are repeated in circular fashion. On the basis of this cyclic theory, it is argued, for example, that just as in a certain age the philosopher Plato taught his students in the city of Athens and in the school called the Academy, so during countless past ages..the same Plato, the same city, and the same school with the same students had existed again and again ". (Bk. XII, Ch. XIV, p. 63)

An analysis of these oft-quoted lines shows clearly that the appellation ' circular time ' carries the implication of exact mechanical recurrence not only of the cosmological processes but also of individual destinies There cannot possibly be any salvation in this conceptual frame, a matter of grave theological consequence. Augustine uses this view to put in relief the specific Christian contribution to the religious interpretation of time. Here, as has been pointed out by Nisbet,[5] he is setting up a straw figure and caricaturing what actually existed amongst the Greek philosophers in the way of belief in temporal cycles.

It does not seem at all very unusual to underplay the concept of time in one tradition as contrasted with another. Arnaldo Momigliano observes in an essay entitled " Time in Ancient Historiography " that

> " In some cases they oppose Indo-European to Semitic, in other cases Greek to Hebrew, in others still Greek to Jewish-Christian or to Christian alone. " [6 p. 17]

in other words, to set up one tradition against another is nothing uncommon in an inter-cultural and inter-religious framework. But the presuppositions of such schemes often go unexamined and therefore their untenability is not detected. Momigliano warns that " If one wants to understand something about Greek historians and the real differences between them and Biblical historians, the first precaution is to beware of the cyclic notion of time. " [p. 25] Naturally, hardly any philosophical tradition can be expected to have an unanimous view of time. Momigliano's concluding remark is worth quoting :

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> " Many students of historiography and especially the theologically minded among them, appear to assume that there are neat and mutually exclusive views about time : The Jews had one, the Greeks another. To judge from experience, this is not so; and one would suspect that philosophers would have an easier task if it were so. " [p. 39-40]

The distinctive features of each major tradition can no doubt be better understood through comparison with other traditions of different cultures. But in order to achieve creative insights into the actual philosophical situation which could be effective in furthering our knowledge, a superficial reading of extrinsic differences is not enough. To put them simply in a relation of mutual opposition may even be disastrous for inter-cultural and inter-religious understanding.

That misconceptions prevail for a great length of time, is seen in the usual representation of the Indian philosophical interpretation of time as cyclic or exclusively as unreal (*māyic*). One comes across this over and over again, even in the writings of many significant thinkers. Paul Tillich's sharp distinction between the historical and non-historical types of interpreting history is for example an attempt to classify the major views concerning time and history in a global frame. From his summary of the characteristics of the non-historical type, which comprises Indian thought amongst other similar world-views, let us examine a few points.

One main feature Tillich notes is that " .. time is considered to be circular or repeating itself infinitely ". [1 p. 20] I have already commented on the notion of circular time and shown not only that the idea is not clear but also that it is not present in any of the schools of Indian philosophy. It is true that in the *Purāṇas* and elsewhere we do find the notion of cosmological cycles. Vast time-scales are used for measuring each world-cycle (*kalpa*) in terms of billions of human years. The divisions and subdivisions of this time-period are called *Manvantara*, *Mahāyuga* etc. Operating with the notion of repeated creation and dissolution this idea of cyclic cosmological process is accepted by several schools of Indian philosophy which, it needs to be emphasised, put forward different views of time. In other words, the idea of cosmological cycles should not be confused with that of cyclic time.

The other two characteristics which Tillich notes are : that " the temporal world has a lesser reality and no ultimate value ", and that " the true being and the ultimate good are eternal, immovable, above becoming, genesis and decay ". [p. 20]

Tillich is referring to the " The Indian Brahman doctrine ", as he puts it, with its associated notion of *Māyā*, which according to Tillich " Deprives all things in time and space....of their ultimate reality and meaning. They have

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reality—but from the point of view of *Māyā;* they are not simply the products of imagination... " [p. 17]

A greater understanding and appreciation of theological attitudes is an essential prerequisite in a cross cultural setting. The system makes use of the three key concepts of *paramārtha*, *vyavahāra* and *prātibhāsa*. *Vyavahāra* is the empirical which is distinguished on the one hand from the *paramārtha*, as that which is unsublatable in all three times (*trikālābādhya*) as unchanging and unchangeable (*kūṭasthanitya*) and the *pratibhāsa* which is purely imaginary (*alīka*) or nothing (*tuccha*).

This theological insight which may be described as an awareness of the order of ultimate reality is perhaps not without parallel in other religious traditions, despite their differences.

Let us consider, in this connection, the following lines by none other than St. Augustine :

" And I beheld the other things below Thee, and I perceived that they neither altogether are, nor altogether are not, for they are, since they are from Thee, but are not, because they are not, what Thou art. For that truly is, which remains unchangeably ". (Bk. VII ch. XI p. 134.)

Perhaps more caution should be exercised in setting traditions as 'diagrammatically opposed ' to one another. It is evident that a scheme with a built-in theoretical bias as one's starting-point hampers an honest appraisal of diverse concepts and does not facilitate understanding in this complex area of investigation. Moreover, such a scheme is not merely descriptive but is implicitly also an evaluation.

In this connection it must also be noted that quite apart from the Jaina and the Buddhist contribution towards the understanding of time, the Brahmanical tradition itself has other distinctive positions other than that of Advaita Vedānta. The bold assertion of the reality of absolute time in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika schools is a powerful rebuttal to the view of time as appearance. In other words, it is important to introduce some complexity which would prevent one from drawing an oversimplified picture of a major philosophical tradition. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the above attempts are amongst the pioneering ones to explore the cross-cultural dimension of the varied human perceptions in the treatment of the issues of time and history. If such endeavors have not been entirely successful, it only shows that we are dealing with a sensitive area where there is room for fresh effort in terms of scholarly research and exchanges.

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4 Augustine,—*De Civitate Dei*, transl. by P. Levine, Heinemann, London, Harvard Univ. Press, Camb. Mass., 1966. Also for further references to Augustine.

5 Nisbet, Robert,—*History of the Idea of Progress*, New York, 1979.

6 Momigliano, Arnaldo,—*Time in Ancient Historiography*, in Quarto Contributo, Rome, 1969.

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COLOUR SYMBOLISM AND THE 'TRI-GUṆA' CONCEPT

By

SIVAPRIYANANDA*

Introduction

Colour is a fundamental aspect of human visual experience and has therefore been universally used for its symbolic significance in religion, ritual, literature, art and, more recently, in psychology. In India, too, colour has been traditionally associated with deities, ritual offerings, natural phenomena, emotions, philosophical concepts and mental states. Perhaps it was intuitively felt that there was a close, holistic link between different aspects of the universe. And, by using symbolic logic, colours were considered to share the qualities of the object they belonged to : for example, red, the colour of blood, was thought to represent life, flow and warmth, all of which are qualities of blood. Frequently, this form of symbolic logic influenced the naming of colours. A good example of this is the word '*śubhra*' which means both bright and white.

Colour Symbolism

In modern scientific terminology, the word colour generally refers to hue and saturation[1]. But in traditional Indian usage, colour was judged according to lightness and darkness. This is why it is never absolutely clear whether such words as *kṛṣṇa, nīla, asita, śyāma, kāla, mecaka* etc. refer to black, dark blue, grey or dark green. Also, words like *pāṇḍu, pāṇḍura, gaura and arjuna*[2] may mean white, pale yellow or pink, Frequenty it becomes necessary to qualify the colour term in order to convey the exact hue intended by using words such as '*priyaṅgu kalikā śyāma* (dark like the *priyaṅgu—Aglaia roxburghiana*-bud), *megha śyāma* (grey like rain clouds) or *karpūra gaura* (camphor white)'.

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1 Hue : the attribute of a colour by which it is distinguished from another. The spectral hues are red, orange, yellow, green, blue and purple.

Saturation : a term used to describe the strength or vividness, of a hue—a red can increase in saturation from pale pink to vivid vermilion, See :

Varley, Helen ed. *Colour*, Marshall Editions, London, 1980, pp. 243-45.

2 Oka, K. G., ed. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanaṁ* (*Amarakoṣa*), with Kṣīrasvāmi's commentary, Law Printing Press, Poona, 1913, Chapter I, 4, verses 12-14.

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'Tri-guṇa' concept

As colours were evaluated according to their degree of lightness or darkness, the earliest colour symbolism was probably based on the two polar opposites of white (*śukla*) and black (*kṛṣṇa*). To this was added red (*lohita*), the colour of blood, to make up the well-known three colour symbolism found in the Upaniṣads. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, for example, very clearly states the intimate relationship between these three colours and nature : 'Whatever appears red is the colour of fire; whatever appears white is the colour of water; whatever appears black is the colour of food'[3]. The idea here seems to be that the entire phenomenal world can be reduced to three basic elements just as all colours can be condensed into red, white and black.

Later, in the same Upaniṣad. an attempt is made to relate all colours to the sun :

Asau vā Ādityaḥ piṅgala eṣa śukla eṣa nīla eṣa pīta eṣa lohitaḥ

(The sun indeed is reddish-brown, it is white, it is dark blue, it is yellow, it is red).[4] Śaṅkara in his *bhāṣya* on the above passage explains the colours as belonging to the humours (*tridoṣa*) of the body : phlegm as white (*'kapha-bhūyastvāc-cuklaṁ bhavati*); bile as brown (*piṅgala*); wind as blue (*vāta-bhūyastvān-nīlam bhavati*); phlegm in balance as yellow (*kaphena samatāyām pītaṁ*); and blood as red (*śoṇita-bāhulyena lohitaṁ*). This explanation follows the Ayurvedic concept of '*tridoṣa*' and may not be directly related to any colour symbolism, though in Caraka *kapha* (phlegm) is related to *tamas* (black) *pitta* (bile) to *sattva* (white or yellow) and *vāyu* (wind) to *rajas* (red).[5] However, it is also possible that the above quoted Upaniṣad passage is trying to put across its understanding that the white rays of the sun are actually composed of more than one colour. This idea is already mentioned in an earlier part of the same Upaniṣad,[6] and may foreshadow the later-Purāṇic and Tāntric-symbolic correspondence between heavenly bodies (*nakṣatra* and *graha*) and colour.

The *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* takes the symbolism further and makes the three colour symbolism the creative principle of the universe. It visualises red, white and black as a cosmic she-goat that gives birth to many little ones that resemble her :

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3 Bhagavat, Hari Raghunath, ed. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (in *Upaniṣad-bhāṣya*, Works of Śankarācārya, Vol. II), Ashtekar & Co., Poona 1918, Chapter VI, *khaṇḍa* 4, verse 1.

4 *Ibid*, Chapter VIII, *khaṇḍa* 6, verse 1.

5 Parikh, Rajvaidya Rasiklal, *Caraka* (in Gujarati), Sastu Sāhitya Vardhak Kāryālaya, Ahmedabad, 1980, p. 6.

6 Bhagavat, Hari Raghunath, ed. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, *Op. cit.* Chapter VI, *khaṇḍa* 4, verses 1-6.

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Ajām ekām lohita-śukla-kṛṣṇām bahvīm prajām janayantīm sarūpāḥ[7]

In Sāṁkhya philosophy and the *Bhagavad-gītā* (XIV, 5-19), this three coloured cosmic she-goat becomes *Prakṛti* (the creative power of nature) and the colours correspond to its constituent qualities of cohesion or *sattva* (white), decomposition or *tamas* (black) and dynamism or *rajas* (red), or in other words light (*śukla*), darkness (*kṛṣṇa*) and life (*lohita*). This is a very potent form of symbolism and is employed throughout, from the early Vedic texts down to late Tāntric literature. It is also a very ancient symbolism, known almost universally in pre-historic times and among many prresent day tribal communities.[8]

The exclusive importance given to red, white and black in early symbolism does not mean that other colours were unknown. A large number of colours are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* and later *Saṁhitās*. Besides *lohita* for red, *babhru* for brown, *kapila* (monkey colour) for reddish-brown, *piṅga* for yellowish-brown and *aruṇa* for ruddy are enumerated in the red group. The words *pīta* and *pāṇdu* are used for yellow, and *kṛṣṇa*, *śyeni*, *śyāma* and *nīla* for black and dark colours such as blue, grey and green. The terms *hariṇa*, *hari*, *harit* and *harita* probably refer to both yellow and greenish-yellow depending on the context.[9] But none of these colours form a basis for such clear symbolism as red, white and black do. Unless of course all these colours can be reduced to three.

In the 6th chapter of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bharata suggests a symbolic association between moods (rasa), emotions (bhāva) and colours (varṇa):

Rasa (mood)	*Bhāva* (emotion)	*Varṇa* (colour)
Śṛṅgāra (erotic)	*rati* (passion)	*śyāma* (dark)
Hāsya (comic)	*hāsa* (laughter)	*sita* (white)
Raudra (fearful)	*krodha* (anger)	*rakta* (blood red)
Karuṇa (pathos)	*śoka* (sorrow)	*kapota* (pigeon colour)
Vīra (heroic)	*utsāha* (courage)	*gaura* (white)

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7 Swami Vimalananda, ed. & tr. *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad*, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras, 1957, XII, 5. A very similar verse is found in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, IV, 5. It says: *Ajāmekāṁ lohita-śukla-kṛṣṇāṁ bahvīḥ prajāḥ sṛjamānām sarūpāḥ. . . .*

This same verse is quoted by Mādhavācārya in the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha* in the Chapter (XIV) on Sāṁkhya Philosophy. This verse, with minor changes, is used by Vācaspati Miśra as the '*maṅgala*' to his *Tattva-Kaumudī* commentary on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā*. This establishes, beyond doubt, the importance of the traditional relationship between colours and the three '*guṇas*'.

8 Varely, Helen, *Op. cit.* pp. 52-53.

9 Macdonell, A. A. and Keith, A. B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. II, Motilal Banarsidass, (2nd reprint), Delhi, 1967, 247, n. 2.

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Bhayānaka (terrifying)	*bhaya* (fear)	*kṛṣṇa* (black)
Bībhatsa (disgusting)	*jugupsā* (repulsion)	*nīla* (dark blue)
Adbhuta (astonishing)	*vismaya* (wonder)	*pīta* (yellow)

The ninth, *śānta-rasa* is not mentioned.[10]

This elaborate *rasa-bhāva-varṇa* symbolism was probably essential in dance and drama to determine the colour of costumes and make-up. This idea influenced art and iconography as the colour of sacred images was based on the inner mood and emotion of the deity. Whether the colour/mood symbolism of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* was directly influenced by the three colour/*tri-guṇa* association of the Upaniṣads and Sāṁkhya is difficult to determine. But a second look at the colour/mood relationship will show that the eight colours can be easily reduced to three. Passion, sorrow, fear and repulsion can be called negative emotions and therefore aspects of *tamas*. Their colours *śyāma, kapota, kṛṣṇa* and *nīla* are dark and belong to the black group. Laughter, courage and wonder are definitely positive feelings and can be related to *sattva*. The colours attributed to these emotions clearly belong to the white group as *sita, gaura* and *pīta* are only different degrees of whiteness. Anger, one of man's strongest emotions, is dynamic and related to the quality of *rajas*. The colour of this emotion, like that of *rajas*, is blood-red. However, this suggested relationship is hypothetical, and as far as I know, has no direct tradional authority, though many later works on iconography and Tantra follow a very similar classification.

If the colour scheme of red-white-black, representing *rajas-sattva-tamas* respectively, is considered to be the evolutionary principle of the material universe (*prakṛti*), then all other aspects of this creative process must also share in its colour symbolism. This is exactly what happens in the later Sāṁkhya philosophy as interpreted by the Purāṇas and Tantras. But as the ' evolvents ' of the three *guṇas* are five instead of three, two new colours are added to complete the symbolism. Generally, two primary colours, yellow and blue (occasionally) grey replaces blue), are introduced to make the '*pañca-varṇa*' scheme which probably has some relation to the five colour symbolism of Vajrayāna Buddhist iconography.[11]

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10 Sharma, Pandit Batuknath and Upadhaya, Pandit Baladev, ed. and tr. *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata, (Kashi Sanskrit Series, 60), Chaukhamba Sanskrit Samsthan, Varanasi, 1980, Chapter 6, verses 42-43.

11 Bhattacharyya, D. C. ' Of Colour in Tantrik Buddhist Art ', in *Dimensions of Indian Art*, Pupul Jayakar Seventy, Vol. I, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, Jyotindra Jain in co-operation with Agama Prakash, Agama Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1986, p. 27.

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A graphic, though slightly late (about 13th century A.D.), description of the symbolic association between five colours, various geometric forms, parts of the human body and five 'gross' elements (*mahā-bhūta*) of nature is given in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* :

Think, from the legs to the knees the form of a square, marked with 63 lines (*vajra*) at the four corners. Consider this square to be the element 'earth' (*pṛthvī*), golden yellow in colour, inscribed with the *bīja-mantra* LAM.

From the knees to the navel is a semi-circular (*ardha-candra*) *yantra* which has two lotuses, one at each end. This is the form of the 'water' (*ap*) element, white in colour and represented by the *bīja-mantra* VAM.

From the navel to the heart region is a triangle marked by three *svastikas*. This is the form of the 'fire' (*tejas*) element with its *bīja-mantra* RAM and red colour.

The region between the heart and the space between the eyebrows has a circle marked with six points (*bindu*) and the *bīja-matra* TAM. This is the form of 'air' (*vāyu*), grey in colour. From the space between the eyebrows to the crown of the head (*brahma-randhra*) is the round *yantra* of 'space' (*ākāśa*), clean and shining, marked by the *bīja-mantra* HAM.[12]

This scheme, with minor variations, such as black for *ākāśa* and blue for *vāyu*, is followed by most texts and is quite standard. Generally, the colours of the *mahā-bhūtas* are extended to include the five *tan-mātrās* (subtle elements), five *jñānendriyas* (organs of sense) and the five *karmendriyas* (organs of action). Though this five colour system is common in Vajrayāna Buddhism, where it represents the five '*kulas*' of Dhyāni-Buddhas,[13] it is essentially the same as that of the three *guṇas* : yellow and white for *sattva*, red for *rajas* and black and blue for *tamas*.

In the Purāṇas and Tantras colours are used to symbolise every conceivable aspect of gods and goddesses : their bodies, clothes, ornaments, *mantras*, *yantras* and even inner, psychological, states. New hues are included to enrich this symbolism. The directions of space (*dik*) and their guardians (*pālaka*), for example, are given symbolic colours : east the direction of the rising sun and the home of Indra, is yellow; west the direction in which the sun sets, is white and guarded by Varuṇa; south, the kingdom of Yama, the lord of death, is black, the colour of darkness (*tamas*); in the north is the kingdom of Kubera, god of wealth and the keeper of the earth's treasures and it is thefore golden yellow.

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12 *Śrīmaddevī-bhāgavatam*, Pandit Pustakalay, Kashi, 1969, *skandha* XI, chapter 8, verses 3-7.

13 Bhattacharyya, D. C., *Op. cit.* pp. 27-28.

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The half-directions are : south-east is red, guarded by Agni; north-east, white, Īśāna; south-west, dark blue or green, Nirṛti; and north-west, black, Vāyu. Similarly, the planets are also symbolised by colours: Sūrya (sun) is either yellow or red, Candra (moon) white or silver, Maṅgala (Mars) red, both Budha (Mercury) and Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) yellow, Śukra (Venus) white, Śanaiścara (Saturn) blue or black, and Rāhu and Ketu (nodes of the moon) variously five-coloured (*pañca-varna*), dark blue-green (*nīla*) or smoke-grey (*dhūmra-varṇa*).[14] Here, as elsewhere, the colours can be easily condensed into the three basic groups and associated with the psychological nature (*guṇa*) of the deities.

An interesting facet of colour symbolism applies to the basic sound units (*mātṛkā*) that make up *mantras*. These *mātṛkā*s are composed of syllables represented by the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. The word '*varṇa*' for letters of the alphabet is also the word commonly used for colour :

Varṇo dvijādau śuklādau stutau varṇaṁ tu c'ākṣare.[15]

(varṇa means caste, colour, description and letters of the alphabet). So it is natural that colours and letters should be made to symbolically correspond to each other. Purāṇas and Tantras, and particularly *Mantra* digests (*kośa*), give long list of *mantra*/colour associations (Table 1).[16]

According to Shyam Sundar Goswami, *mātṛkā* sounds are composed of three fundamental parts : *bīja* (seed), *nāda* (sound) and *bindu* (nasalisation). *Mātṛkā* units also contain the three *guṇas : sattva* in *bindu*, *rajas* in *nāda* and *tamas* in *bīja*. The *guṇas* are represented by three fundamental colours : yellow for *sattva*, red for *rajas* and black for *tamas*. The colours given to *mantras* indicate the energy that predominates in each *mantra*. A yellow *mantra* shows that the *bindu* has greater influence on the *bīja*; red indicates greater influence of *nāda* on *bīja*; and black shows the power of the *bīja* itself.[17]

It is clear from Goswami's analysis of *mantras* that, inspite of both primary (red, yellow, blue) and secondary (green, brown, purple, pink, orange and grey) being freely used for their symbolic value, they can all, at any stage, be condensed into the *tri-guṇa*.

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14 Gopinathrao, T. A. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Motilal Banarsidass (2nd reprint), Delhi, 1985, Vol. I, pt. 2. pp. 322-23.

15 Oka, K. G., ed. *Nāmalingānuśāsanaṁ*, *Op. cit.* chapter III, 3, verse 48.

16 Goswami, Shyam Sundar, *Layayoga*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980, p. 107.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

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TABLE I

MANTRA-MĀTṚKĀ COLOURS :*

A	moon-white	JÑA	shining red
Ā	white	ṬA	shining white
I	white	ṬHA	shining yellow
Ī	shining yellow	ḌA	shining yellow
U	yellow	ḌHA	shining red
Ū	shining yellow	ṆA	shining yellow
Ṛ	shining red	TA	shining yellow
Ṝ	shining yellow	THA	orange
LṚ	shining yellow	DA	shining red
LṜ	moon-white	DHA	shining yellow
E	deep red	NA	shining red
AI	moon white	PA	moon-white
O	shining red	PHA	shining red
AU	shining red	BA	moon-white
AṀ	shining yellow	BHA	orange
AḤ	shining red	MA	orange
KA	vermilion	YA	smoke colour
KHA	deep red	RA	shining red
GA	orange	LA	shining yellow
GHA	orange	VA	shining yellow
ṄA	smoke colour	ŚA	red
CA	white	ṢA	white
CHA	shining yellow	SA	white
JA	moon-white	HA	shining red
JHA	shining red	KṢA	white

concept. That such a synthesis is traditional can be seen from the meditation verses (*dhyāna-śloka*) in the 24th *paṭala* of the *Tantrarāja Tantra :*

All goddesses (śakti) can be associated individually with elements, such as earth, etc (*kṣityādi-bhūtaiḥ*), qualities, such as *sattva* etc. (*sattvādiguṇaiḥ*), colours and forms (*varṇākāraistu*).

All earth goddesses are yellow in colour and can (when worshipped) stop all actions (*stambhana*).

All water goddesses are white like the quality of brightness (*sattva*). They all grant the worshipper knowledge, peace, wealth, fame, good fortune and salvation.

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* After Shyam Sundar Goswami.

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Firey goddesses are all red like the dynamic quality (*rājasāḥ*). They give power over others (*vaśyākarṣaṇa*), peace (*śānti* , wealth, good fortune and victory.

Goddesses of the element air are all the colour of smoke and can cause separation (*uccāṭana*).

The goddesses of the space element are dark in colour (*nīla-varṇāḥ*), are worshipped for dark (tamasic) magical rites of destruction and death (*māraṇot-sādayoḥ*).[18]

The colour symbolism described in the Upaniṣads, Purāṇas and Tantras is used in all forms of Indian artistic expressions. It has also become an integral part of Indian life to such an extent that colour is rarely used purely for decorative purpose. It almost always has a traditional, symbolic background. Even colours used in folk and tribal art, floor decorations and textile designs are strongly influenced by symbolic, religious and philosophical ideas.

Summary

1 Colours are a very potent source of symbolism in Indian art and religion.

2 Unlike modern stress laid on the hue and saturation of colours, ancient and traditional Indian colour symbolism is based on the degree of lightness and brightness of a colour.

3 A three colour symbolism was developed very early in the Upaniṣadic literature and was based on black as the symbol of darkness (*tamas*), death and earth; white, the polar opposite of black, as the symbol of light (*sattva*), goodness, milk and water; and red as the symbol of dynamic creativity (*rajas*) and the life giving power of blood and fire. (see Figure 1)

4 Though both primary and secondary colours are used for their symbolic value, they can all be condensed into the three colour/three *guṇa* principle of the Upaniṣads and Sāṁkhya philosophy.

5 In the later Purāṇic and Tāntric texts, colour symbolism is extended to include icons of deities, *yantras*, *mantras* and all forms of ritual and cultural activity.

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18 Shastri Mahāmahopādhyaya Lakshman, ed. *Tantrāraja Tantra*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1981, *paṭala* 24, verses 6 and 8–11.

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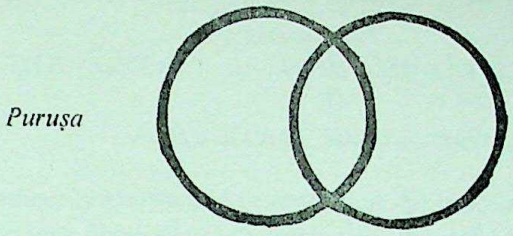

guṇa

sattva/śukla	*rajas/lohita*	*tamas/kṛṣṇa*
(essence-cohesion-unity)	(movement-creation-dynamism)	(inertia-decay-annihilation)
ALL LIGHT COLOURS	SHADES OF RED	ALL DARK COLOURS
manas	*jñānendriya* *karmendriya*	*tanmātra* *mahābhūta*

Evolution according to Sāṁkhya, Purāṇa and Tantra and the relationship between colours and *guṇas*.

FIGURE 1

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THE CONCEPT OF AUDIT IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

ANJAN KUMAR BHATTACHARYYA*

It is commonly known and believed that the concept of Audit is of European origin and the idea developed only after the Principle of Double Entry Book-keeping was written and published by Luca Pacioli in 149-. The modern thoughts as to the origin, development and objects of audit may be stated as follows :

The word " audit " has been derived from the Latin word " audire " which means " to listen ". In ancient times, in Europe, the practice was such as the persons who prepared the accounts, used to read out the entries and related statements to another person called " the verifier " or " the auditor " who used to pass the accounts, if those appeared to be correct to him simply by listening to the reader.

In the 19th Century, various theories came into existence regarding the checking and re-checking of the finally prepared accounts to protect the interests of the investors or of the common people who invested their hard-earned money into the joint-stock companies. There came the question of protection from the probable frauds and misappropriations of money and thus, the idea of auditing during the post-accounting period came to the minds of the accountants. The Companies Acts were passed in Britain which required the annual balance sheets to be submitted to the shareholders after being examined and certified by the Auditors of the Company. In 1880, The Institute of the Chartered Accountants of England and Wales was incorporated by a Royal Charter which helped the rapid growth of auditing with increasing accounting knowledge and which tried to make the accountants and auditors follow a uniform standard of accounting activities.

The main objects of audit are two-fold : (1) The primary object is the confirmation of account and (2) The secondary object is the detection and prevention of errors and frauds.

In the process of performance of the above objects of audit, the auditor is expected to vouch the various transactions, value and verify the existence of

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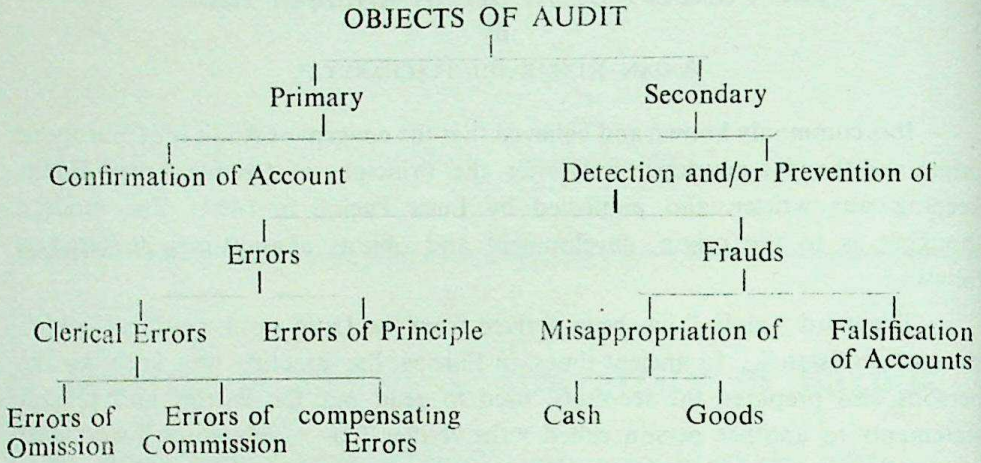
various assets and liabilities and to take the stock by exercising reasonable care and skill. The objects of audit may be precisely shown by the following table :



With the above-mentioned modern ideas regarding the development and objects of audit in our minds, let us now consider what has been stated by the Ancient Indian Thinkers regarding the possible ways of perpetrating errors and frauds for the benefit of the auditor to be more careful and cautious specially regarding these points besides exercising reasonable care and skill. We shall also find that in Ancient India, there was the provision for specific amounts of fines for different types of offences committed by the persons connected with the preparation of accounts.

However, after reading the following few pages, I think, the reader will not be able to deny that the concepts of clerical errors, errors of principle, errors of omission, errors of commission, misappropriation of cash and goods and also falsification of accounts etc. originated in Ancient India in about 300 B.C, during the days of Kauṭilya, much before Europe could think of these.

A. *Embezzlement of State Revenue*

All undertakings depend upon finance. So, Revenue and Finance should be treated as the most important part of Administration or Financial Management. Hence, foremost attention should be paid to the Treasury. This is the reason why during the recent years, the subject Financial Management has developed so rapidly.

It is easily understandable that if there occurs any unauthorised, unwarranted and unproductive outflow of revenue out of the Treasury, the financial condition is bound to go down gradually towards the final disaster. This was well conceived in Ancient India as we see Kauṭilya, realising the need for protection of State Revenues from possible frauds and misappropriation, has pointed out to the

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possible ways responsible for reduction in State Revenues. Let us now see what Kauṭilya has said regarding this aspect of accounts and audit.

In Chapter VIII of the Book II of *Arthaśāstra*, he states the following causes that tend to deplete Treasury :

1. *Pratibandha* or obstruction which may be of the three types as follows :

(a) Failure or non-enterprise on the part of the Collector or the accountant to collect or receive the receivables, the due date or receiving time of which has already matured.

(b) Amounts received by the collector but not deposited into the Treasury.

(c) Some amount of money is ready for payment to the Treasury by the payor, still the amount is not being received by the cashier or the accountant or the person concerned for reasons unknown.

The punishment imposed in such cases of loss, will be ten times the amount of loss.

2. *Prayoga* or Loan : If the cashier or the accountant lends any money or money's worth to any outside person on a periodical interest and the interest thereby earned is enjoyed by them, then this act will be termed as *Prayoga*.

This offence will be punished by imposition of a fine of twice the amount of earning or profit.

3. *Vyavahāra* or Trading : If anybody tries to trade or if he starts a business by making use of Government money or goods and earns a profit by such trading or business activities, he will be liable for the fault of *Vyavahāra*.

The punishment for this type of offence will be twice the amount of profit he has earned by such trade.

4. *Avastāra* or Fabrication of Accounts : This may be of two types :

(a) Even if the time of tax-collection has matured in any particular case, but the Government officer states that the time of collection is not yet mature. This may probably be due to the greed of bribes etc.

(b) If the time of tax-collection is not yet ripe and matured but still the Government officer states that the time is ripe. This may be due to enmity or enviousness.

In the above case the accountant will be guilty of fabrication of accounts or *Avastāra*. In such cases, the guilty officer will be punished by a fine equal to five times the amount of loss (*Pañcabandha*).

5. *Parihāpaṇa* or causing the loss of Revenue :

This may be of two types :

(a) If anybody causes any regular or fixed or continuous income to be less than the normal figure or usual figure, or,

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(b) If anybody causes any regular or fixed or continuous expenditure to be enhanced or increased or to be more than the normal or usual figure.

In such cases, the Government officer will be found guilty of causing the loss of revenue. In this case, the guilty person will be punished with a fine equal to four times the amount of loss due to his fault.

6. *Upabhoga* or Self-enjoyment.

The default here may be of two types :

(a) If anybody enjoys himself the Royal goods like gems, valuable articles etc.

(b) If anybody causes others to enjoy the Royal goods like gems etc.

In these cases, the person will be charged for *Upabhoga* and he will be fined as follows :

(i) He will be sentenced to death for enjoying gems.

(ii) He will be punished with middlemost amercement for enjoying valuable Royal articles and

(iii) He will be punished with restoration of the articles together with a fine equal to the value of such articles, if a person enjoys Royal articles of any inferior value.

7. *Parivartana* or barter or Exchange of goods. If anybody gives away Royal goods to others and takes therein the goods of others and thus compensates the Royal goods or if anybody takes away Royal goods himself and puts his own goods there in exchange, then the default will be termed as *Parivartana.*

In this case, the punishment will be same as it was in the case of *Upabhoga.*

8. *Apahāra* or defalcation :

This may be of three types as follows :

(a) The revenue has already been collected but it has not been recorded in the books of accounts and not been taken into the treasury.

(b) If anybody does not spend the amount which has been ordered to be spent but the amount of expenditure has been shown or recorded in the books of accounts.

(c) If the Government officer denies the receipt of the collected revenue (*Vipratijānīte*) or misrepresents the net balance of the revenue in his hands.

In the above cases, the person should be deemed guilty of *Apahāra* or defalcation of Government money.

In such cases, a fine equal to twelve times the amount of loss will have to be paid by the guilty person.

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B. *Different types of frauds, errors and misappropriation of money or goods by any person or persons connected with or in charge of the preparation and maintenance of Accounts :*

In Chapter 29 (from the beginning) of his famous Book *Arthaśâstra*, Kauṭilya has referred to the following points regarding how errors, frauds or misappropriation of money or goods may be committed and perpetrated by the persons concerned with preparation and checking of accounts :

1. Anything (cash or goods) received during the earlier period, but recorded in the accounts as to have been received during the current period. This means that during the intervening period (i.e., from the date of actual receipt upto the date of record), the amount has been enjoyed by the accountant.

2. Anything (cash or goods) received during the latter period, but recorded in the books as to have been received during the earlier period.

3. Not to receive and record (taxes etc.) which ought to have been received (due to taking bribes etc.).

4. To receive the amounts (by force) which ought not to have been received (taxes from Brahmins or *Devasthānam* declared as tax-free).

5. Amounts received but declared and recorded in the Books as not received or still due.

6. To declare and record in the books any amount as received but the amounts have actually not been received.

7. To collect a small amount of tax but to record in the books more than the amount received.

8. To collect a heavy amount of tax but to record in the books a lesser amount as if a small amount of money has been received.

9. Received a particular item in the Stock (e.g., wheat) but recorded in the Stock sheet as a different item of goods (e.g. jowar).

10. Received from one person but recorded in the books as if received from a different person (i.e., name of another person has been recorded).

11. Not to pay (by the order of the authority or Royal order) exactly what (gold etc.) has been ordered to be paid but to pay something else (of lesser value) which has actually not been ordered.

12. Not to pay the amounts which ought to be paid in specific time and for specific purpose (e.g. Festivals or *Yajñas*), but to pay the amounts in odd times (whenever not necessary).

13. Actually paid a small amount of money (e.g., Rs. 100/-) but recorded in the books as paid more than that (e.g. Rs. 200/-).

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14. Actually paid more than what has been recorded in the books of accounts (e.g., withdrawn Rs. 1000 from the Royal Bank, but paid to the person concerned only Rs. 800 and the accountant has taken away Rs. 200).

15. Even if the accountant has received a specific order to pay a particular type of goods, to somebody, he has recorded as if a different type of goods has been paid to the person concerned.

16. Something has been paid to somebody but recorded as paid to a different person.

17. Amounts collected and received but not deposited.

18. Amounts shown as to have been deposited but not actually collected.

19. Goods (Clothes etc.) purchased but the purchase-price has not yet been paid but still recorded in the books as if the price has been paid.

20. Price of goods purchased has already been paid out but recorded in the books as if the amount has not been paid but it is still due and outstanding.

21. Amount received collectively from a group of persons, (e.g. from a Joint Hindu Family) specially, tax for the sacrament of food-offering to the manes, recorded in the books in a scattered manner as if received from different persons (of that family or others).

22. The amounts which have been received from different persons and are to be recorded in a detailed manner in different names and heads, recorded in the books in a condensed form as if received in a lump without the record of any detail whatsoever.

23. To receive an article or goods of lower value in exchange for an article or goods of higher value.

24. To receive an article or goods of higher value in exchange for an article or goods of lower value.

25. To increase intentionally the price (which is already fixed after proper valuation) of an article.

26. To decrease, with improper motive, the price (which is already fixed after proper verification and valuation) of an article.

27. To record the number of days actually worked by the workers at an inflated figure intentionally in the wage sheet.

28. To record the number of days actually worked by the workers at a reduced figure in the wage sheet.

29. To manipulate the number of months in an year (e.g., to include an extra month even in the year in which there is no intercalary month).

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30. To manipulate in counting the number of days in a month (e.g , to show the month which comprises of 31 days, as comprising of 30 days).

31. To manipulate in the number of workers present on any particular day (e.g., number of workers present 800 but if the number is shown as 1000, then the wages for the extra number of 200 ghost workers can be easily taken away by the accountant).

32. Manipulation of income generated from one source or head by showing it under a different head or as income generated from different source.

33. To take away a portion of money (as commission etc.) ordered to be paid to Brahmins or other religious men.

34. Misrepresentation regarding any specific transaction and the income therefrom misappropriated (e.g., to report that " to-day the Brahmins only and none others have crossed the river by boat "—this is misrepresentation of the fact or the transaction and to report that for this reason no money has been collected for that day because Brahmins can freely cross the river by boat. In this way, money collected from the other persons can be easily taken away by the accountant and other allied persons).

35. To manipulate the number of the members of any Joint Hindu Family and as a result, at the time of any collective or joint collection of tax, to misappropriate the extra money collected, or to relieve some member of the family by taking bribe from him.

36. To manipulate about the tax-free incomes of Brahmins etc. If the number of Brahmins can be shown at an inflated figure, then, out of the total tax collected, some portion can be easily misappropriated.

37. To manipulate the sale-price of goods sold and thereby a portion of profit can be taken away.

38. To manipulate in weights or counting at the time of inward and outward movement of stocks.

39. To manipulate by using a defective scale while measuring goods.

40. To manipulate by using an unauthorised or improper container for weighting goods like oil etc. where special containers are used for weighing.

The reader should appreciate that the above points cover the different types of errors and frauds and the means of manipulation and misappropriation of money. Moreover, from the above, we can also have the idea of the necessity of having a suitable system of internal check regarding wage payment and also stock taking and valuation and verification. What more remains, then, to be further discussed in *Auditing* of the present-day ? Can we not say, therefore, that Auditing is an Ancient Indian Idea ?

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APPENDIX—A

(Related to Section A of the Paper)

Quoted from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Chap. VIII in Book II

प्रतिबन्धः प्रयोगो व्यवहारोऽवस्तारः
परिहापणमुपभोगः परिवर्तनमपहारश्चेति कोशक्षयः ॥

सिद्धिनामसाधनमनवतारणमप्रवेशनं वा
प्रतिबन्धः । तत्र दशबन्धो दण्डः ॥

कोशद्रव्याणां वृद्धिप्रयोगः प्रयोगः ।
पण्यव्यवहारो व्यवहारः ।

तत्र फलद्विगुणो दण्डः ।
सिद्धं कालमप्राप्तं करोत्यप्राप्तं प्राप्तं
वेत्यवस्तारः । तत्र पञ्चबन्धो दण्डः ।

क्लृप्तमायं परिहापयति व्ययं वा
विवर्धयतीति परिहापणम् ।
तत्र हीनचतुर्गुणो दण्डः ।

स्वयमन्यैर्वा राजद्रव्याणामुपभोजनमुपभोगः ।
तत्र रत्नोपभोगे घातः ;
सारोपभोगे मध्यमस्साहसदण्डः ;
फल्गुकुप्योपभोगे तच्च तावच्च दण्डः ॥

राजद्रव्याणामन्यद्रव्येणादानं परिवर्तनं,
तदुपभोगेन व्याख्यातम् ॥

सिद्धमायं न प्रवेशयति,
निबद्धं व्ययं न प्रयच्छति,
प्राप्तां नोर्वीं विप्रतिजानीत इत्यपहारः ।
तत्र द्वादशगुणो दण्डः ।

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APPENDIX—B

(Related to Section B of the Paper)

Quoted From : Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra Chapter, VIII in Book II

तेषां हरणोपायाश्चत्वारिंशत्—
पूर्वं सिद्धं पश्चादवतारितं;
पश्चात्सिद्धं पूर्वमवतारितं;
साध्यं न सिद्धं;
असाध्यं सिद्धं;
सिद्धमसिद्धं कृतम् ;
असिद्धं सिद्धं कृतम् ;
अल्पसिद्धं बहुकृतम् ;
बहुसिद्धमल्पं कृतम;
अन्यत् सिद्धमन्यत्कृतम् :
अन्यतःसिद्धमन्यतः कृतं;
देय न दत्तम् ;
अदेयं दत्तं;
काले न दत्तम् ;
अकाले दत्तम् ;
अल्पं दत्तं बहुकृतं;
बहु दत्तमल्पं कृतम् ;
अन्यद्दत्तमन्यत्कृतम् ;
अन्यतो दत्तमन्यतः कृतम् ;
प्रविष्टमप्रविष्टं कृतम् ;
अप्रविष्टं प्रविष्टं कृतम् ;
कुप्यमदत्तमूल्यं प्रविष्टम् ;
दत्तामूल्यं न प्रविष्टं ;
सङ्क्षेपो विक्षेपः कृतः ;
विक्षेपः सङ्क्षेपो वा;
महार्घमल्पार्घेण परिवर्तितम् ;
अल्पार्घं महार्घेण वा;
समारोपितोऽर्घः;
प्रत्यवरोपितो वा;
रात्रयः समारोपिता, प्रत्यवरोपिता वा;

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संवत्सरो मासविषमः कृतः;
मासो दिवसविषमो वा;
समागमविषमः;
मुखविषमः, धार्मिकविषमः;
निर्वर्तनविषमः, पिण्डविषमः,
वर्णविषमः, अर्घविषमः;
मानविषमः, मापनविषमः;
भाजनविषम इति हरणोपायाः ।

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CONTRIBUTION OF SANSKRIT PLAYWRIGHTS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF IRONY

By

KSHETRABASI PANDA*

Irony as a literary phenomenon (both as a figure of speech or verbal irony and as a structural device or dramatic irony) has always been a recurrent feature of English plays. So Wells says :

> Of all forms of expression in the west the drama has most fully realized the force of irony. Western tragedy presents an ironical impasse at which the soul grieves, western comedy, an ironical angularity at which the mind smiles.[1]

But, being a Western concept, Dramatic irony also distinctly plays a conspicuous role in other Classical plays of all languages especially in Sanskrit. It is further remarkable that Sanskrit playwrights not only create the situations to stamp irony, they also contribute something new to the concept of dramatic irony in the line of their Western counter-parts, since it is always seen that great playwrights are prone to display their originality in the treatment of some dramatic situations. So also in handling the motif of dramatic irony in a play, they make the audience feel the novelty of their conception leaving a distinct mark of their genius. On the Greek theatre, Sophocles was first to evolve his own pattern of dramatic irony which led the scholars to contrive the term as " Sophoclean irony ". Shakespeare too, coming in the line of the great dramatists of world literature made his debut by giving the fine touch " Shakespearean irony " in his plays.

Applied to Sanskrit drama, the concept of dramatic irony gathers new facets and Sanskrit playwrights like Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, evolving new designs of dramatic structure, bring out dramatic irony. Thus like Sophoclean irony, the irony envisaged by these great savants can be termed as Bhāsāite irony and Kālidāsāite irony respectively.

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1. Wells, H. W. : *The classical Drama of India*, Asian Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, P. 9.

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The humourist in Bhāsa leads him to build-up a series of comic situations replete with dramatic irony. Handled with masterly craft, Bhāsāite irony gathers its own characteristics. Bhāsa has a tendency to create irony by bringing the members of one family together in peculiar circumstances, so that all of them or one of them does not recognise the other. For example, in the "*Madhyamavyāyoga*" the father is found being confronted with his hostile son. Bhīma's presence in a surprising way before his unknown son creates a comic situation of dramatic irony which further proceeds throughout the tussle between the father and the son. What an ironic situation that Ghaṭotkaca throws big trees and mountain tops at Bhīma and spares no means in retaliation, little knowing that the latter is his own father. Ghaṭotkaca's comment upon Bhīma's request that he would not set the boy free even if his own father commands him to do so, reveals the core of Bhāsāite irony :

mucyatāmiti visrabdham bravīti yadi me pitā /
na mucyate tathā, hyeṣa gṛhīto mātur ājñayā //[2]

More remarkable also is the taunt of Ghaṭotkaca at Bhīma when the latter says that he knows him as his son :

Katham Katham tava putro'ham.[3]

Similar situations recur in the "*Pañcarātra*" where Abhimanyu happens to meet his own father and uncles without having the slightest idea of their identity and rebukes them very scornfully. This tussle occurs when Bhīma and Arjuna in their disguises go to bring the captured lad Abhimanyu :

Bhīma—	"Oh ! Abhimanyu !"
Abhimanyu—	"Am I Abhimanyu to you ?"
Bṛhannalā (Arjuna)—	"Oh ! Abhimanyu !"
Abhimanyu—	"How ? Am I Abhimanyu to you ? Is such the etiquette of the place here that persons of the *Kṣatriya* race are addressed merely by their names even by the low people; or is this an insult to me upon my captivity ?"
Bṛhannalā—	"Oh Abhimanyu, is your mother Well ?"
Abhimanyu—	"How, how, you enquire about my mother ? Are you Dharmarāja ? Bhīmasena ? or Arjuna ? that you dominating like my father, ask me news relating to women".

2. "*Madhyamavyāyogah*"—*Bhāsanāṭakacakra*, Ed. Devadhara C. R., Oriental Book Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona-2, Act-I, V. 36.
3. *Ibid.*, P. 433.

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Bṛhannalā— "O Abhimanyu, is Keśava, Devakī's son well ?"

Abhimanyu— "How, even him you refer by name. Yes, Yes, he is well only because of you".

Bṛahannalā— "That is merely a verbal boast, why then were you taken a prisoner by that foot-soldier ?"

Abhimanyu— "He approached me unarmed, hence; I was captured. For, who would kill a man that has laid down his arms ? And would I do that remembering my father Arjuna ?"

This comic situation of Bhāsāite irony further intensifies when Bhīma, at the remarks of Abhimanyu "*aśastreṇa iti abhidhīyatām*", clarifies that his own arms are his weapons. At this Abhimanyu taunts him :

bāhurakṣauhiṇī yasya nirvyājo yasya vikramaḥ /
kiṃ bhavān madhyamastātas tasya etat sadṛśam vacaḥ //[4]

More noticeable also is the comment of Abhimanyu towards Yudhiṣṭhira when the latter enquires about his middle father :

nanu anuttarā vayam brāhmaṇeṣu,
sādhu anyo brūyāt.[5]

So the mistaken identity comes out as a core of the Bhāsāite irony, the immense dramatic possibilities of which are materialised in the "*Svapnavāsavadatta*" by keeping Vāsavadattā in the disguise of Avantikā leading to a sustained chain of piquant ironic situations right from the beginning to end. The motif of mistaken identities has been dexterously interwoven in several Western classics like "*The Mid-Summer Nights dream*" leading to humour or in great tragedies like "*Oedipus the King*" leading to disaster. But Sophocles or Shakespeare fail to give the warmth of affection and human relationship as well as filial feelings which are the marks of Bhāsā's irony. Bhāsa thus provides a clue to understand the typical nature of irony in Sanskrit drama.

Kālidāsa has developed some of the motifs inherent in the Bhāsāite irony and invested them with deeper sentiments. The motif of non-recognition (*apratyabhijñā*) is interwoven in all of his three plays. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the heroine lives in a humiliating condition in the royal harem of Agnimitra. It is the irony of her fate leading her to serve in disguise as a maid. Whereas in the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, the heroine purposefully takes shelter in disguise; here, in Kālidāsāite style, mere chance occurrence forces the younger and the more

4. "*Pañcarātram*"—*Bhāsanāṭakacakram*, Ed Devadhara, C. R. Act-II, V. 56.
5. *Ibid.*, P. 407.

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tender-hearted Mālāvikā to servitude and disguise. So in comparison to Bhāsa, Kālidāsa thus adds to the piquancy of the effect of the dramatic irony in his first play. But it is in his other two plays that Kālidāsa is able to delve more deeply in human problems with great insight and Vision to attach greater significance to the situations breathing in dramatic irony. Not only the purposeful determination of the character as found in the case of Vāsavadattā nor the mere chance-occurrence in the case of Mālvikā leads to piquant ironical effect, but to infuse a play with greater degree of dramatic irony, some fault, miscalculation or lapse of a character, made in unawareness or due to the weakness of human nature, should combine with his destiny which can be traced in other two plays of Kālidāsa.

In the *Vikramorvaśīya* the inherent weakness of both the hero and the heroine leads them to separation and repentance. They come to the grove to celebrate their honeymoon, but; instead, they are ironically heading towards a catastrophe. This immensely pathetic irony resulted here due to an inner weakness of the hero who is unable to restrain himself from eying a beautiful damsel. Also, the heroine being unable to tolerate the king viewing a beauty even for a moment, has her own contribution in precipitating the crisis. So the hero's lust and the heroine's jealousy are co-related with each other in significant means to open the way for their pangs of sufferings.

Kālidāsa's *magnum opus* "*Abhijñānaśākuntala*" further gives fine illustrations of dramatic irony resulting out of some weakness of the character combined with his or her fate. Duṣyanta, at the very out set, faces the audience as a hunter. The soft antelope is of course saved from his violent design, but the poor girl of the hermitage ultimately becomes a prey to his lustful hunt. Destiny here makes a tryst with the inconsistency of both the characters for which the heroine is dejected in an utterly humiliating condition in the king's palace and the king being unable to remember her, passes through a trauma. Handled with great insight and vision of the master dramatist, the irony of this situation deepens in the last act, when Śakuntalā beholding her lover after a long interval, exclaims that he is not her husband :

na khalu āryaputro ayam[6]

Perhaps, the years of sufferings and torture have left their scars on her lover's face for which she is unable to recognise him.

Kālidāsa even has not forgotten to apply his predecessor's view-point. So the Bhāsāite irony is also reflected in his plays with a much greater degree. In the last act, Duṣyanta feels filial affection at the first sight of the boy, but exclaims

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6. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* : Ed. Shastri N. K., The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 6th Ed., 1967, P. 543.

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him as *maharṣi-putraka;* because he knows that the emotion is only out of his childlessness. He regards the father of the boy as the luckiest person, little knowing that he himself is the man of that virtue. Duṣyanta is much to be pitied when the boy taunts him that Duṣyanta is his father, not he :

Duṣyanto mama tātaḥ, na khalu tvam.[7]

What a pity that a father feels childlessness in front of his own son. Similar situation occurs in the "*Vikramorvaśīyam*" where in the last act the king is unable to recognise his own son. Certainly, Kālidāsa taking up the motif of *apratyabhijñā* or non-recognition creates unique situations of dramatic irony unparalleled in their pathetic appeal and treatment of human suffering. So some specific traits thus can be discerned in the Kālidāsāite irony. He has developed and enlarged the Bhāsāite motif of non-recognition, viewing it in a more human perspective, and instead of mere amusement and spectacle as found in the Bhāsāite irony, Kālidāsa bestowed tragic depth to it. Further, dealing with the element of non-recognition, as it is evident from the foregoing discussions, Bhāsa dwells in the outer world; while Kālidāsa delves deeply into the inner-most recess of human mind focussing the landscape of its trauma, dilemma and conflict. The audience is also made to realise such dilemmas and conflicts directly in a number of soliloquies of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā :—

Śakuntalā— *kiṃ na khalu imaṃ janaṃ prekṣya tapovanavirodhino vikārasya gamaniyāsmi samvṛttā* (Act–I)

Duṣyanta— *na ca khalu paribhoktuṃ nāpi śaknomi hātum* (Act–V)

Duṣyanta— *.....smarāmi na parigrahaṃ munes tanayām*
balavat tu dūyamānam pratyāyayati iva hṛdayam
(Act–V)

Adopting this very motif of non-recognition, Bhavabhūti has produced ironical situations achieving greater tragic and pathetic effects even than the Kālidāsāite irony. The fifth and sixth acts of the *Uttararāmacarita* supply a good number of such instances to this effect. Rāma's meeting with his two sons Lava and Kuśa in the battlefield has its own story full of irony. Lava, of course, welcomes Rāma addressing *tāta;* but it is not because of his parental love towards Rāma, it is only caused by his friendship with Candraketu. Rāma also feels an unaccountable affection and joy in the embrace of the lads and he further notices their resemblance to Sītā in certain physical features; but still is not hopeful. So writes Keith:

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7. *Ibid*, P. 540.

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A certain measure of irony of situation is all that he attains, e.g. in connection with Rāma's ignorance of the identity of his sons.[8]

The overwhelming resemblance moves Rāma to tears. But the lads are too young to know the mystery and therefore the bookish knowledge prompts Kuśa to explain the cause being Rāma's great love for Sītā and her unending separation. In another situation, Lava disregards the invincible greatness of Rāma. He criticizes Rāma's victory over Paraśurāma, Tāṭakā and Vālin as of a cowardly nature. This open insult to the dignity of Rāma however outrages Candraketu for which a fight becomes inevitable between them. Both of them were unaware of their brotherly relation. Even, sitting in his own grand-mother's lap, Lava answers to a query of Kausalyā that he is the son of the revered Vālmīki.

bhagavato vālmīkeḥ[9]

To another query about the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story, the lad promptly replies that it is composed upto the tragic abandonment of Sītā. It is most ironic that these lads do not even know the name of their mother. More remarkable is that the lads, in front of Rāma, recite verses from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and discuss the pangs of suffering caused by Sītā's separation without the slightest knowledge of Rāma being their father. So Bhavabhūti thus reinterpreted the motif of non-recognition adopted by Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Bhavabhūti, like Kālidāsa, has gone deep into the human mind in producing the situations of tragic irony with the help of the motif of the Bhāsāite irony and the Kālidāsaite irony.

Thus, these Sanskrit playwrights create not only the situations of dramatic irony *par excellence*, they also positively contribute to the concept of dramatic irony; they extend its frontiers and effectively improve the understanding of the principle of irony in drama. The fact that the classical Sanskrit plays not only furnish profuse examples of dramatic irony but also add something new to improve upon the concept of irony, can be further corroborated by drawing comparison with great masters of the Greek and the Elizabethean drama.

The Sophoclean irony is of course noteworthy for its tragic effect; but it is too cruel and crude. It leads to the realisation of destiny playing havoc in the human life and shows a man as a mere puppet in its hand. Oedipus is completely helpless and has no recourse except suicide when he comes to know that he has married his own mother. So in Greek tragedy, man is a slave of divine will; his own efforts, desires and aspirations are not counted. Shakespeare,

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8. Keith, A. B. : *The Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford University Press, London, 1954, P. 192.
9. *Uttararāmacaritam* : Ed. Bhat G. K., The Popular Book Store, Surat, 1953, P. 166.

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however, considerably improved upon the model of dramatic irony giving a different touch to it. In the Shakespearean tragedy, mere chance-occurrence or the cruel design of fate does not lead to disaster. A great hero falls from his high status due to some weakness inherent in his own nature. Destiny however plays its role; but man is made responsible for his actions and decisions. Therefore, the dilemmas and conflicts leading to dramatic irony are more human in Shakespeare. But Shakespearean tragedy fails where the great Sanskrit classics succeed. The former does not restore faith in humanity as the latter does. By making the play end in happiness, the playwrights like Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti only show that if a man falters or commits wrong, he can make its amendment also; and this happy end does not diminish the acuteness of tragic irony. Inspite of happiness in the end, Pangs of suffering persist; the wounds given by destiny do not easily heal. So the Sanskrit playwrights certainly have extended the concept of irony particularly tragic irony and given a new dimension to it.

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HINGOḶĪ-MĀTĀ TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF YEAR 1207

By
ARVIND KUMAR SINGH

The epigraph under discussion[1] is engraved in seven lines inside the porch of, and on the eastern wall of Hingoḷī-mātā temple at Khanḍhosaṇa (Visanagar Taluka of Mehsana District), Northern Gujarat. This record is significant as it casts some light on the evolution of Gujarātī language and for its use of some architectural terms like '*talā*' (storey) and '*ramaṇaka*' (pavilion).

The date of the inscription figures in lines 1 and 2 as *saṁvat 1207 varṣe, je* (*jeṭha* = *jyeṣṭha*) *vadi 12*, Wednesday, which corresponds to the 13th June of 1151 A.D.

The language represents a mixed dialect, Saṁskṛta and Gujarātī of that period. The phrase like *ju lopu karai su naraki jāi* (lines 6-7) represents a clear transition from Apabhraṁśa to old Gujarātī and confirms the employment of old Gujarātī in an inscription as early as of V. S. 1207/A.D. 1151. As regards orthography, *pratimā* has been rendered as *pratimā* (line 5).

The palaeography of this record reveals some peculiar features.[2] All the letters, except initial *i* (lines 6 and 7) and *bha* (in *bhu*, line 2), approach their counterparts of the Nāgarī alphabet. The medial *u* in *bhu* of 'Bhurākena' (line 2) and in *ju* (line 6) are attached to the outer vertical about the middle instead of common lower leftward hooked shape. The *halanta* sign of *t* in *saṁvat* (line 1) is turned to left like medial *u*, yet it does not fuse with medial *u*, because this shape is the common feature of that period.

As for the object of the epigraph, it is noted in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1961-62 (Appendix C, No. 1409) that the present inscription " Records a gift of four houses and a tank (?) to goddess Sarvamaṅgalā by Majavā-Turāka ". However, the reading 'Majavā-Turāka' (line 2) offered in the *Report* seems untenable. The first letter in what is read as 'Majavā' shows neither the rare triangular looped nor round form at the left limb like

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 38, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1988 issue, pp. 61-62.

* Old C1/GF, Jodhpur Colony, B.H.U., Varanasi — 221005.

1 This is noted in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1961-62, Appendix C, No. 1409.

2 *Cf.* Photograph, which is reproduced by the courtesy and assistance of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.

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other forms of *ma* (lines 3 and 5) : while upper left vertical is slopy and bent to the left to attach a stroke which in essence is the shape of the letter *sa* and not *ma*. And the last letter *va*, of the same word, also might be *ta* because its left vertical limb is straight like the letter *ta* instead of hemicircle form of the letter *va*. In the reading 'Turākena' *bhu* is fused with *tu*. The horizontal limb of this letter is bent upwards to join bulging vertical. This is the characteristic of the letter *bha* and not *ta*. One other point where I differ from the *R port* is the reference of tank (?) in present inscription. Actually, in line 4 the word is *talā* which may be *tallā* (Hindi, storied). Thus, the epigraph records the gift of a four storied house with a pavilion and two images in the temple of goddess Sarvamaṁgalā Devi by Sajatā-Bhurāka. " Bhurāka " apparently is the older form of the proper name " Bhurā " so common up to the past generations in Gujarat as also in upper India.

The revised reading of the inscription is as follows :

Text[3]

Line 1. ओं[4] संवत् १२०७ वर्षे जे[5] वदि
Line 2. १२ वुध सजता भुराकेन
Line 3. भटारिका श्री सर्वमंगला
Line 4. देवि दतं गेहं ४ तला र–
Line 5. मणकं दतं प्रती(ति)मा २
Line 6. जु लोपु करइ सु नरकि
Line 7. जाइ

Translation :

On Wednesday, the 12th of the dark fortnight of Je(ṭha), saṁvat 1207. (On this day) Sajatā– Bhurāka donated a four storied house and two images in (the temple of) Bhaṭārikā śrī Sarvamaṁgalā Devi. He who transgresses (this donation) will fall in hell !

Seemingly, the donation was made soon after the completion of this small handsome temple, for the style seems to agree with those temples founded in the last years of Siddharāja and the first decade of his successor Kumārapāla.

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3 From photograph.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 *Je = Jeṭha = Jyeṣṭha*

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ŚRI HARṢA AND SINDHUDEŚA—BĀṆA'S TESTIMONY

By

S. V. SOHONI*

In the recently published accounts[1] of the career of Harṣa, there is practically no information available on the subject of his relations with the kingdom of Sindh, although Bāṇa had made two significant though separate observations on it : (i) Prabhākaravardhana, who had preceded Harṣa on the throne of Thānesāra, was said to be, '*Sindhurājajwaraḥ*'.[2] In other words, Harṣa's father exerted political influence, which caused fever to the ruler of Sindhudeśa. Śaṅkara has not commented on this historical reference made by Bāṇa : (ii) [3]The second mention of the ruler of Sindhudeśa is, obviously, related to Harṣa himself and that too, with reference to that stage of his rule which had been completed well before Bāṇa first met him, thus cousin 'Śyāmala,[4] while giving his own appreciation of the unique achievements of Harṣa stated that Harṣa, " Having pounded the king of Sindhudeśa, made his Lakṣmī i e. wealth, his own. "—"*Atra puruṣottamena Sindhurājam pramathya Lakṣmīrātmīkṛtā*", the literary beauty of the expression consisting of the action of Puruṣottama in winning over Lakṣmī, his consort from the ocean and Harṣa snatching the riches of the king of Sindhudeśa—'*pramathya*', in the former, invited a reference to the mythological churning of the ocean and in the latter, which is about Harṣa himself, inviting attention to the tossing about of the king of that country, without destroying him, but putting him in such enormity of trouble as to force him to give up his wealth, or may be, even his sovereignty. One may compare this latter meaning with Kālidāsa's reference to Raghu having snatched away the royal splendour of the king of the Kalinga country—'*Śriyam jahāra na tu medinīm*' ![5]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 38, Nos. 1-2, September–December, 1988 Issue, pp. 63-72.

* Manali, Prabhat Road (15), Pune-411 004.

1 Devahuti D. : "*Harsha, A Political Study*", 1970.

2 HC II.

3 HC III.

4 Śyāmala was obviously, taking an overall view of Harṣa's career, thereby noticing some important achievements of Harṣa, up-to-date, as distinguished from *Harṣacarita* being devoted by Bāṇa to Harṣa's *Śaiśava* or childhood proper. I have analysed elsewhere, Śyāmala's references to later events in Harṣa's carrer.

5 RV IV. 43.

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2. Unfortunately, few historians of the post Gupta age, regard *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa as a reliable historical work. Thus, J. Allan noted, " *Harṣacarita* is by no means an historical work in the modern sense of the term. It is an exercise in a particular literary genre, with an historical instead of a mythological theme ".[6] Perhaps R. C. Majumdar[7] thought that this was taking an unduly severe view of Bāṇa's account, when he observed, "Sindh was hostile to Prabhākaravardhana as well and it is just possible that Harṣa might have led a compaign against it. But the detailed description of Huentsang is, no doubt, that Sindh was a strong and independent kingdom when he visited it; and Harṣa's military campaign, if there was any, evidently bore no fruit ".

3. The earliest available regional account of the history of Sindh viz. *Chacha-nāma* is said to be a Persian version of a genuine Arab history of Sindh which was composed soon after Mahamad Iban Kasim's conquests of Sindh, in 711-712 A.D. The translation, in the form now available, was made early in the 13th century A.D. In its initial portion, it gives some information about Sindh when it was ruled by the Rai dynasty, before it was overthrown in A.H. 1 (= 622 A.D.)[8] by a minister called, 'Chakha', who died after a long reign of about 40 years. This early account of Sindh's history before the Arab invasion, does not mention any conflict between the Rai dynasty or its successor viz. Chacha, on one hand and either Prabhākaravardhana or his successor, Harṣa, on the other. The absence of any other reference to military hostility between the two dynasties might perhaps justify the cautious view taken of the matter by R. C. Majumdar.

But a closer inspection of the available information in *Chachanāma* would definitely lead to an analysis which would support the enthusiastic description given by Bāṇa of the role of Prabhākaravardhana as well as of Harṣa, in the political affairs of Sindhudeśa.

4. Before dealing with the materials in *Chachanāma*, it would be useful to examine a very remarkable paragraph in *Harṣacaritam*, in which Bāṇa has given a vivid series of observations made by a number of princes holding positions in Harṣa's army, just before he reviewed a military parade, prior to receiving the Kāmarūpa ambassador and after full preparations were made for the campaign against Śaśāṅka of Gauda. The whole of this passage is full of important historical implication. But for present purposes, it would be sufficient to quote from it the following portion only :[9]

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6 *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 104.
7 '*India : The Classical Age*', p. 106.
8 Mirchandani B. D. : '*Glimpses of Ancient Sindh*', p. 4 fn. 50.
9 H.C. VII

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"Sankalpāntarito vijayastarasvinām/sahimahimavadvyavahitopyuvāha bāhubalavyatikarakātarah karam kauraveśvarasya kiṅkara ivākṛtī drumaḥ/nātijigīṣavah khalu pūrvam yenālpa iva bhūbhāge bhūyānso bhagadattadantavakrakrāthakarṇakauravaśiśupālasālvajarāsandhasindhurājaprabhṛtayo abhavanbhūpatayaḥ/santuṣṭo rājā yudhiṣṭhiro yohyasahata samīpa eva dhanañjayajanitajagatkampaḥ kimpuruṣāṇām rājyam/Alaścaṇḍakośo yo na prāvikṣatkṣmām jitvā strīrājyam/ Rhasīya evāntaram tuṣāragirigandhamādanayoh utsāhinah/kiṣkuh turuṣkaviṣayaḥ/ prāheśaḥ pārasīkadeśaḥ/śaśapadam śakasthānam/adṛśyamānapratiprahāre pāriyātre yātraiva śithilā/śauryaśulkah sulabho dakṣiṇāpathaḥ/dakṣiṇrāṇava kallolānilacalitacandanalatāsaurabhasundarīkṛtadarī mandirādddardurādadrernedīyasi malayo malayalagna eva ca mahendraḥ /"

5. It is quite clear that these *pārthiva-kumāras* were in a confident mood of victory against the enemy in the East; and accordingly, were almost bragging about the certainty of an equal measure of success, if expeditions were undertaken in the other three cardinal directions as well. That is why no reference was at all made to the campaign immediately in hand in the eastern direction; and the scope for territorial aggression was specified, to the North, to the West and to the South—in this very order. Thus, to the North was mentioned the Zone between the Himālayas and the Gandhamādana range; to the West, were stated the Turuṣka Viṣayāḥ (which was furthest in the West), Pārasīkadeśah, which was to the East of the Turuṣka Viṣayāḥ, and Śakasthānam. Immediately to the South, was put the region around the Pāriyātra range. Then the rest of the Dakṣiṇāpatha regions were carefully mentioned viz. the Dardūra, the Malaya and the Mahendra ranges, all of which were situated beyond the southern frontier of the Cālukya territories, it being taken for granted by this boastful nobility that it was jam and butter to traverse them.

6. If the individual regions mentioned above were put on a map, along with the definite point that the boundaries of India, as understood in that period, gave it a bigger area in the West, it would appear that the military targets, thus indicated at the very beginning of Harṣavardhana's imperial career, were quite meaningful. Before saying all this, it may be recalled that these military commanders had made a definite mention of the kingdom of the ruler of Sindhudeśa etc, as having been *left out* by some former modest conquerors, *despite their close proximity*—*" Nātt-jigīṣavah khalu pūrvam yena alpa eva bhūbhāge bhūyānso Bhagadatta-Dantavakra-Krāthakarṇa-Śiśupāla-Sālva-Jarāsandha-Sindhurāja—prabhṛtayo abhavan bhūpatayaḥ /"*

7. One may next take into account two major points which are very relevant to this analysis. In the first place, admittedly, the kingdom of Thānesāra was neighbouring territory in that period; and even according to *Chachnāma*, to

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its north having Kashmir and to its north-west, the kingdom of Zābul, to the west there was the Arabian sea and to the south, Kutch and Surāṣtra.

Chachnāma deals with the campaigns of Chacha in various directions, in its early chapters. It is now necessory to take stock of these campaigns of Chacha, who had ruled since 622 A.D. for forty years, during which period, Harṣa was his contemporary upto 647-48 A.D. In other words, Prabhākaravardhana was the contemporary of the Rai dynasty's ruler before 607 A.D.; and Harṣa between 607 and 622 A.D.; and Chacha and Harṣa were contemporaries between 622 and 647 A.D.

8. The second point which cannot be overlooked is the admission, even by the undefeated enemy of Harṣa, viz. Pulakeśi the Cālukya that Harṣa was the lord of the *entire* north—'*Sakalauttarapathesŵara*,[10] which statement was a direct endorsement of the *viruda* adopted by Harṣa himself viz. *Uttara-pathādhipati*'.[11] When Huentsang visited the kingdom of Pulakeśin II, he had found,[12] "At the present time, Sīlādityamahārāja has conquered the East and the West so that both far and near owe allegience to him, but the people of this country *alone* have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the Five Indias ... to subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops." Thus, according to this contemporary report, *only* Maharashtra—and it follows, territories further south also—had not submitted to Harṣa, whose supremacy was acknowledged both in the east and the *west*, in the rest of the country.

9. The next point which needs being stressed is the import of the statements made by Bāṇa about Prabhākaravardhana and Harṣa, in relation to the kingdom of Sindhudeśa. In either reference, the main suggestion was that of not a direct but indirect control or interference, specially in regard to Prabhākaravardhana's role. The obvious feature of '*jwara*' or fever, which Prabhākaravardhana was to the ruler of Sindh, is that it is not seen being physically inflicted by anybody and is accompanied by a rise in temperature! Āyurveda has taken note of both these characteristics of this physical disorder. Accordingly, all that Bāṇa wanted to convey was that Prabhākaravardhana had so conducted his moves on the political chess board that the ruler of Sindhudeśa was thereby put, without taking resort to any warfare as such, into that state of mind and body, which results from an otherwise invisible, yet palpable onset of fever. It may be recalled that war is that measure of foreign relations when all other steps had failed. Once it is firmly grasped that the kingdom of Sindhudeśa was situated fairly close to the South Western frontier of the territories ruled over by Prabhākaravardhana

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10 IA. IX 124-5 etc. in the Nirpen, Karnul and Togarchedu grants of Pula-kesin.

11 Devahuti D.: p. 93.

12 Beal B. ii, pp. 255 ff; Watter's ii pp. 239 ff.

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along with the maxim of Kauṭilya, that a neighbour is a potential enemy, it would be apparent that this statement of Bāṇa was not a figment of his imagination.

10. The position in respect of Harṣa's outlook towards Sindhudeśa is even more clear. Inheriting the factor of geographical neighbourhood between the two kingdoms, the opportunity to dictate exacting terms was definitely available to Harṣa—and the circumstances in which this had happened have been reported in *Chachanāma*, in fairly clear terms. As noted, this work contains in its first part, an account of the campaigns conducted by Chacha, on usurping power in 622 A.D. It could be safely assumed that by this time, Harṣa had consolidated his hold over the kingdom of Thānesāra, Kanauj, Bihar and portions of the territories to the further east during the 16 years which had elapsed since he succeeded his brother, Rājyavardhana. With these big regions under his control, there is no difficulty in assuming that Harṣa had ample resources to build a vast military machinery, which he was free to employ in the West. Prabhākaravardhana's war policy had a different orientation—he had safeguarded his eastern frontier through the alliance with the powerful Maukhari dynasty, which had then ruled over U.P. and Bihar. Accordingly, Prabhākaravardhana could easily commit aggression on the Hūṇas, the Gurjaras, the Mālavas, the Lāṭas as well as, on Sindhudeśa. But Harṣa could do that much later in his career, as his first problems were in the east.

According to *Chachanāma*, Chacha had marched against Agham, an important feudatory chief who had his capital at Bāmanābād. *Chachanāma* states that on being besieged in the local fort, Agham[13] sent letters of request for help, "To the king of Hindustan that is Kanauj". Agham died before his call for help could be answered by Kanauj. 'The king of Hindustan', at that time, having headquarters at Kanauj was, undoubtedly, none other than Harṣa himself. Unfortunately, the peculiarities of the Persian script, combining with the negligence of the scribes, made the name of 'the king of Hindustan' into an amalgam of letters, whose sound hardly echoes that of 'Harṣavardhana'. Thus, we have the following collection of the corrupt name in the various editions of *Chachanāma*. Elliot[14] gives it as 'Satban', Son of Rasal; Kalichbeg,[15] as 'Sayar' or 'Sātbāgr', Son of Rail Rai or Rasal Rai. Commenting on this, B. D. Mirchandani[16] had recorded his views, "Satbān, Sayār and Satbār are probably corruptions of Siladitya or Śri-Harsa". Huentsang[17] refers to Harṣa

13 Mirchandani B. D. : op. cit., pp. 6-7.
14 Elliot I, 147.
15 Kalichbeg : '*The Chachanāmaḥ*', p. 33.
16 Mirchandani B D. : op. cit., p. 7.
17 *An Advanced History of India*, p. 198.

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by his title Śiladitya. Prabhākaravardhana, according to Bāṇa (*Harṣacaritam*, 101) " Was famed far and wide under a second name Pratāpaśila ", traces of which are noticeable in ' Rasāl ' or ' Rail '. The initial syllable, ' Pra ', has apparently been mistaken for the Persian word, ' Pisar ', meaning ' son of '. I suggest that the name in original Arabic chronicle, very probably, " Śilāditya Pratāpaśila " or ' Śrī Harṣa Pratāpaśila ". This invites one comment—it is quite unnecessary, in the existing circumstances, to speculate upon how such letter twisting had at all occurred, once it is admitted that the reference was clearly to Harṣa.

11. After seizing power, Chacha was constantly undertaking military expeditions against his neighbours from his vantage point in the lower Indus basin. It is not difficult to imagine what heavy price he had to pay from time to time, in meeting the exacting demands of his far more powerful neighbour in the north east for allowing him that freedom. The word ' *pramathya* ', employed by Bāṇa, is very significant. It literally means not one turn but many turns of the churning rod; and moreover, it was the treasury of the ruler of Sindhudeśa which was, thereby, depleted, i.e. his ' Lakṣmī '. Bāṇa employed elegant prose while very briefly referring to this complex political situation.

12. As H. N. Raychaudhary observed, " Even the rulers of distant Kashmir, Sindh, Valabhi and Kāmarūpa had a wholesome dread of the power of Harṣa ". Kanauj, as Harṣa's capital city, had become a centre of extraordinary grandeur and accumulated wealth. Almost one hundred years after the passing away of Harṣa, the expression " you want Kanauj ", meant, ' you want the impossible ', (almost like asking for the man on the moon), had passed into becoming a proverb. It is used in that sense even in *Chachanāma*.[18]

Appendix I

Geography of Sindhudeśa

It would be useful to examine references to Sindhudeśa in ancient literature, in the light of one guiding feature noticed in respect of the boundaries of *janapadas* situated on the bank of a comparable river like the Gaṅgā in the plains of north India. These boundaries are determined by the course of the major tributaries of the Gaṅgā on one hand, as supported by the foot hills of the Himālayas on the other. Otherwise, in view of the territory of such a *janapada* being more or less a flat plain and the mighty river supporting an efficient navigation service, the real major boundaries would have been the foot hills in the north and the Gaṅgā on the south, irrespective of the intervening courses of tributaries. Such a large jurisdiction was definitely available to an expanding political power.

18 Kalichbeg : op. cit., p. 52.

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But what has to be investigated now is the natural boundary of the more stable *janapada*. Otherwise, it was possible to assume that a powerful enough ruler might have exercised sway over not only the territories on one side of the Indus but also on all those lying on its opposite bank, after the river commences its career in the plains, right down to the sea-coast. Those equating Sindhudeśa with modern Sindh, were, apparently, influenced by this alternative possibility. The question then resolves itself into whether the Sindhudeśa *janapada* touched the sea or was far more upstream the river i.e. away from the seacoast.

Pāṇini mentioned[19] Takṣasilā, along with Sindhudeśa, thereby implying their proximity.

The north western and western campaigns of Pratāpavardhana, Harṣa's father (as described[20] by Bāṇa) against the Hūṇa, the Gandhāra and the Sindhudeśa powers, apparently had a similar pattern.

Over two centuries before Huentsang, Kālidāsa has[21] referred to Sindhudeśa in the context of the distribution of territories by Rāma among his brothers : Bharata (who was familiar with the north western regions as a grandson of the Kaikaya dynasty) was given Sindhudeśa. Thereafter, Bharata conquered the Gandharva or the Gandhāra country which he gave to his sons who founded the cities of Puṣkalāvatī and Takṣaśilā. This position too implies that Sindhudeśa was upstream the Indus rather than on the maritime border. As stated later, Rāma's brothers did not transgress into each other's jurisdictions : Lakṣmaṇa at Lucknow, Śatrughna at Mathurā and Bharata to the further west.

Alberuni[22] identified Sauvīra with Multan and Jahrāwar; and Raverty put 'Jahrāvar' (= Jhārwār) at the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab, nearly 50 miles upstream of Multan.

Therefore, the Sauvīra area surrounded Multan, lying to the east of the Indus in the Punjab.

Maxmüller noted[23] that the Sauvīras, probably dwelt in the south west of the Punjab, near Multan.

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19 Pāṇini : IV. 3.95. Also see V. S. Agarwal, '*India as known to Pāṇini*', p. 43, 44 and 50. He has (wrongly) assumed that Sindhudeśa was to the east of the Indus, between the Indus and the Jhelum, in the text of his work, whereas on the map included by him in it, the region has been shown (correctly) as being to the west of the Indus.

20 HC II.

21 RV XV 87-89.

22 Sachau pp. 298, 300, 302.

23 *Sacred Books of the E*, XIV, p. 148.

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According to *Skanda Purāṇa*,[24] the Narasimha shrine of Mūlasthāna or Multan was on the bank of the river Devikā—and Pargiter [25] identified the Devikā with the river Deeg, a tributary of the Rāvīs.

Pargiter placed the Sindhu and Sauvīra territories to the northwest of the Madhyadeśa, which term covered the whole of the Ganges basin from the Punjab as far east as the confines of Bihar.

Anandaram Barooah observed,[26] that the term 'Sindhu-deśa' meant the country of the upper Indus.

D. C. Sircar [27] aptly observed, "the ancient Sindhu-deśa lay to the west of the Lower Indus and was not exactly the same as modern Sindh".

II

Far more informative than among the earlier references to Sindhudeśa noted above, are the details and direct inferences thereon, recorded in the accounts of the travels of Huentsang in India. Besides being valuable because they belonged to the same period as Bāṇa's *Harṣacaritam*, they are also more useful because the great Chinese pilgrim, apparently, measured distances fairly accurately while reporting on the length of his individual journey. It is generally agreed that such distances related to the journeys between one capital city and another, as distinguished from the total lengths of the boundaries of individual kingdoms, i.e. of their circumstances.

Huentsang went to a kingdom to the west of the Indus, which he called, 'Sin-tu'. He proceeded to 'Sin-tu' from 'Kin-che-lo', rendered into 'Gurjara'. The capital of the Kin-che-lo region was mentioned by him as, 'Pi-lo-mo-lo'. Most scholars have identified 'Pi-lo-mo lo' with Bhinmāl, 50 miles to the northwest of Ābu. According to Huentsang's account,[28] "Proceeding northwest through wild deserts and dangerous defiles about 1900 li, crossing the great river Sin-tu, we come to the kingdom of Sin-tu". It is also stated there, "Going from this eastward 900 li or so, crossing the Sin-tu river and proceeding along the eastern bank, we come to the kingdom of Mu-lo-san-pu-lu" i.e. Mūlasthānapura or Multan. It follows that the Sindhu-deśa and Multān territories had then formed neighbouring kingdoms, lying respectively to the west and the east of the Indus. The point has been explicitly stated by Yaśodhara, who wrote in his

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24 *Prabhāsa-kṣetra, Māhātmya*, ch. 278.
25 A.I.H.T. p. 271.
26 *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 12-13.
27 Sircar D. C. : *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 114.
28 Beal, Sin-yu-ki; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II pp. 271-75.

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ṭīkā on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* " *Sindhu nāma nadaḥ, paścimena Sindhu-deśaḥ* ". The fact that Sindhudeśa and Sauvīra were close neighbouring regions is proved by a combined reference to them as Sindhu-Sauvīra, repeatedly recurring in ancient Sanskrit literature.

This contemporary evidence recorded by Huentsang is important; and to appreciate it correctly, it is necessary to decide on what place was exactly called ' Pi-lo-mo-lo ' —whether it was Bhinmal (as is the generally accepted view) or Barmer (as suggested with greater probability by Muni Jina Vijayasuri vide *Bhāratīya Vidyā* vol. I-2).

It may also be mentioned that according to Huui Li,[29] the biographer of Huentsang, the great pilgrim travelled to Sintu, not from the Gurjara capital, but from ' O-fan-cha ' which was, probably, the Baluch area bordering on the north-west of modern Sindh and to the west of the Punjab. This is corroborated by Watters (II. 254) who observed, ' The pilgrim went east 900 li and crossing the Sindhu river to the east bank came to the Mu-lo-san-pu-lu country ".

According to B. D. Mirchandani,[30] Vṛṣadarbhapura, the capital of Sindhudeśa, was situated to near-about the present day Mithankot town in Dera Gazi Khan district, " Close to the west bank of the Indus, not many miles to the south of its confluence with the Panchnad ". As the crow flies the distance between Mithankot and Bhinmal is 280 miles; and from Balmer, it is 220 miles. It is quite clear that Huentsang did not travel along a straight line between either Barmer or Bhinmal and Mithankot. Considering the geography of the region and the specific description of a portion of the Sintu region mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim's account, viz. " By the side of the river Sindh along the flat marshy low lands for some thousands of li, there are several hundreds of thousands of very great many—families settled. They are of an unfeeling and hasty temper, and are given to bloodshed only. They give themselves exclusively to tending cattle and from this derive their livelihood ". From this account, it is clear that the region of Sentic was all along the Indus west bank as its eastern boundary—and it was very likely that its length North East to South West, was bigger than its width East to West. In other words, it was rectangular, parallel to the Indus.

It seems that Huentsang passed more through the Jaisalmer region than *via* the Jodhpur tract. It is precisely this region which was then occupied by the Gurjara tribes.

Taking into account all such relevant circumstances, it seems reasonable to conclude that the ancient Sindhudeśa occupied the area covered by the modern three Derajat districts in present day Pakistan.

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29 Beal : *The Life of Huentsang by Hwai Li.*, p. 151.

30 ABORI, Vol. 57, 1976.

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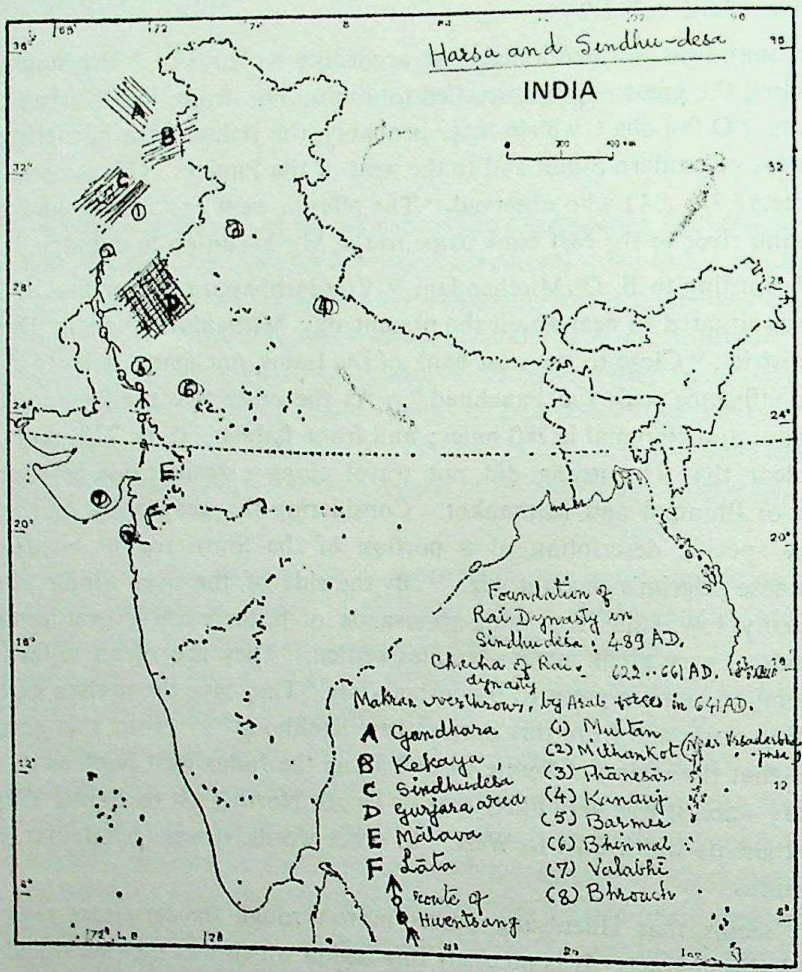

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THE LEGAL DOCUMENTS (KHATAPATRAS): A STUDY OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF AHMEDABAD BASED ON ORIGINAL GUJARATI DOCUMENTS

By
YATINDRA I. DIXIT*

In recent years Indian historians are exploring either the new areas of historical studies such as the Urban and Economic History and Business History or giving new meaning to the existing areas of social and economic history. They are also exploring and using the sources which had been hitherto neglected by the historians in the pre-independence period. The legal documents known as *Khatapatras* in Gujarat are particularly interesting and instructive in this regard.

The *Khatapatras* that I propose to present in this paper are important sources for writing the Urban and Socio-Economic history of the Mughal period of Gujarat. Even though India had a basically agrarian economy and set up in the pre-nineteenth century, it had a country-wide urban nexus which linked the different towns and the cities through administrative system and trade routes. In Gujarat, the cities like Ahmedabad and Surat emerged as manufacturing and commercial centres, and the activities of these centres got stimulated as a result of the operations of the European East India companies since the early years of the 17th century. But the information that we get comes most pre-dominently from the English and European sources, and Persian sources. The *Khatapatras* which I have selected constitute important regional source material for writing and evaluating the social and economic activities. I may like to point out the classification of the cities as categorised by Stanley K. Schultz in his paper., '*An Approach to a Theory of Urbanization*'. Schultz has classified the urban areas into the following five types; (1) administrative centres, (2) religious centres, (3) military centres, (4) market centres, and (5) cultural centres.[1] But it seems that Schultz's classification is rather arbitrary, as the same city may breathe business climate along with the numerous administrative and cultural activities,

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1. Schultz Stanley K., "An Approach to a Theory of Urbanization", *Studies in Urban History*. (Ed.) J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga, Amritsar, 1981, pp. 8-17.

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and this creates a complex problem for a historian regarding the emphasis. Ahmedabad is a case in point.

Founded in 1411 A.D., by Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, Ahmedabad had already earned a reputation as a trading and manufacturing centre before it passed to the Mughals in 1573. The Mughals established peace and political stability. These together with other factors, such as its location on the major trade routes, the security of the person and property of its merchants, and its comparative proximity to the major sea-routes of Gujarat such as Ghogha, Cambay (Khambhāta), Broach (Bharucha) and Surat, helped in stimulating its trading and manufacturing activities. The emergence of the English and the Dutch in the beginning of the 17th century as buyers of Ahmedabad goods including cotton and silk textile goods, paper and indigo, provided a further stimulus to the business enterprise of Ahmedabad. Gillion has particularly emphasised the role of the traditional institutions like the *Mahājans* and *Nagarsheths* and *Panch* in the social and the business life of the city. He has also emphasised the part played by the *pols* and *sheris* in the day-to-day cultural life of the people.[2] But Gillion also has missed the most important source-material, namely, *Khatapatras*, with the result that we are getting from his book the social and economic picture of this city from the cursory and superficial accounts of the 17th century foreign travellers and merchants who visited this city. The *Khatapatras*, in question give the firsthand and direct account of the social and economic life of the city and this helps us to view the internal working of the city from the point of view of the city-dwellers themselves, rather than from the cursory glance of the travellers.

The *Khatapatras* are a legal document pertaining to the purchase, sell and mortgage of houses, shops and land. They provide useful information on the prices at which transactions were settled, the name and caste affiliation of the persons engaged in the transactions, local and suburban markets and the nature and the location of property. In this way, we get a detailed description of the house, the street and the pol, where it was located. The pols (*pratolī*) and the Mohalas and the streets were a group of houses having gates and community organization and they played a very important part in the socio-economic and cultural activities of the city-dwelers. The neighbouring houses and shops, their owners and their castes or sub-castes also figure in the *Khatapatras*. The legal nature of the transaction required the parties concerned to be cautious about the terms of transactions. To give a permanent and universal character to the contract, the dates of the contract and the names of persons then holding power

2. Gibhon Kenneth L., *Ahmedabad A Study in Indian Urban History*, California, 1968, pp. 11-36.

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and position at the central as well as the regional and local levels were invariably stipulated in the documents.

A large number of *Khatapatras* pertaining to Ahmedabad and its puras (suburbs) are acquired by the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad. About half a dozen documents are in Persian or Urdu; more than 90 *Khatapatras* are in old Gujarati language written in *Devanāgarī* script. The documents are in the form of thick white cloth. These, together with the use of high quality black ink, have enabled them to withstand the ravages of time. I have published a few *Khatapatras*,[3] which give the first hand information on the names of the sellers and the purchasers, their castes and *Gotras*, their neighbourhood and the pols and the puras in which the property in question were located.[4] One of the *Khatapatras* pertains to the *Pallu*, which, if literally translated means money given by the bridegroom to the bride as her personal property. This was not a dowry. In view of the fact that the girls were married at a very early age and numerous girl-brides became widows. The *Pallu* in Gujarat was devised to function as an Insurance against insecurity. The *Pallu* amount varied from caste to caste. The *Khatapatra* pertaining to *Pallu*[5] is a very important document from the point of view of the social life and institutions of Gujarat. It is regarding a dispute which took place between Kuverdas Dharamdas and his father-in-law and sister-in-law on Thursday, March 19th, 1713. Kuverdas lived in Jharola Pol which was adjacent to Nagji-bhuder's Pol where his bride's house was located. Kuverdas belonged to the Jharola Vania caste and married a girl named Mithi. Mithi died soon after she delivered a baby, and the son also passed away soon thereafter. In keeping with the social conventions in those days Kuverdas had paid the amount of Rs. 410/- to his father-in-law as *Pallu*. But on the death of his wife and son, Kuverdas claimed the amount. The refusal on

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3. Dixit Y. I., " मोगल पादशाह औरंगझेबना समयनुं गुजरातनुं एक ' हाटस्य विक्रित ' खतपत्र (मूल खतपत्र साथे) (8-4-1706) *Swadhyaya*, Vadodara Vol. 14, No. 1, Oct. 1976, pp. 4 to 27; मोगल पादशाह फर्रुखशियरना समयनुं गुजरातनुं एक ' गृह-विक्रय ' खतपत्र " (dated 17-12-1715), *Journal of Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. 41, July, 1979 & Oct. 1979, Bombay, pp. 113-123; ' मोगल पादशाह मुहम्मदशाहना समयनुं " घरना हिस्सानी वहेंचणी ' नुं एक खतपत्र " (dated 15-7-1725) *Vidya*, Vol. XX, January, 1977, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, pp. 28-39; " मोगल पादशाह शाहआलम बीजाना समयनुं गुजरातनुं ' घरना बहाना ' नुं खतपत्र " (dated Ist May, 1741), *Vidyāpith*, Year 17, Aṅka 1, January-February, 1979, pp. 54 to 64 etc.
4. *Khatapatra* No 8834, B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad, 380 009.
5. For details see Dalpatram Dahyabhai, ज्ञाति-निबंध (Gujarati) (Ahmedabad, 1849).

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the part of Laldas, the father-in-law, and Sunderbai and Rahibai, sisters-in-law, led Kuverdas to file a suit in the court of law and Laldas was required to pay the full amount to Kurverdas. A few highly significant issues emerge from this *Khatapatra*. The *Pallu* amount was highly prohibitive. At a time when a large house or a shop could be purchased at a rate of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, as most *Khatapatras* show, the *Pallu* amount, as specified in this case, meant a fortune for a man who aspired to be a husband.

One of the *Khatapatras* gives the caste name of one Nandaram Kuverjee Dave. He belonged to Jharola Brahmin caste. A 19th century account informs that there were as many as 84 sub-castes among the Brahmins and Vanias.[6] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* which was completed in 1761, also mentions 84 sub-castes among Brahmins and Vanias. The Jharolas took their name from the town of Jharol, a trade centre in Marwar. We can thus assume that the Jharolas were the migrants from Rajasthan and they migrated to exploit economic opportunity which the urban centres of Gujarat offered in the medieval times.

Now we will briefly discuss the nature of the two legal documents which I have consulted in the Museum Section of the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad. The first *Khatapatra* is dated Monday, August 4, 1706 and it provides information on the sale of shops in Shaikhpur, the suburb of Ahmedabad, on the west of the river Sabarmati. The seller was one Kuvarji Yadav kapasi belonging to the Jharola Vania caste. It should be noted that the Jharolas were not the caste by themselves but they denoted the place of their origin (in Rajasthan) or the place from where they migrated. There was a constant flow of migration from Rajasthan to Gujarat and the Nagar-seth family of Ahmedabad had itself migrated from Osian (Osiāṁ), Marwar, a small railway station and Tehsil Head-quarter in Rajasthan, about 45 K.M. in N-W of Jodhpur.[7] The buyer of the two shops were Kapasi Vīrji and his brother Sāhā Mohan, both belonging to the Jharola Vania caste. The word 'Kapasi' is highly significant. It is a common knowledge that Ahmedabad was a renowned centre of indigenous textile industry and it contained a large population of weavers, and merchants dealing in textile goods. To the best of my knowledge no contemporary account gives any reference to the cotton dealers. The word

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6. Tripathi Dwijendra, *The Dynamics of a Tradition : Kasturbhai Lalbhai and his Entrepreneurship*, 1981, Delhi, pp. 9-21.

7. For details see 'ganīma' M. S. Commissariat, '*A History of Gujarat*', Vol. II, p. 412, fn. 5 & p. 413 fn. 6., and pp. 407 to 420; कवि शामळ भट, 'अभराम कुलिनो सलोको (1781 A.D.) published in *Buddhiprakash*, Vol. 23, Sept. 1876, p. 198; Oct. 1876, pp. 217-222; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. 2, khand 2, pp. 73-83 (Gujarati Translation).

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'Kapāshi literally means a person who deals in cotton. The *khatapatra* in question does not give information on the profession of either Kuvrji Kapāshi, the seller, or Virji and Mohandas Kapasi, the purchasers, and we can only infer that they were, as their surname clearly denotes, cotton dealers, but we have in the description of the shops, the following words, indicating.

"उत्तराभिमुखानां आगल मांडवी डांकी पेढी सहीत आगळ कपास नाष (ख) वानी खलि" (= a place where raw-cotton can be stored). This is indeed a very valuable information, which, together with other sources, could be utilized for further inquiries.

The total value of the two shops sold was Rs. 601/-. The *Khatapatra* provides a detailed description of the two shops in question and also specifies the persons who held important government position at that time, Nyāmatkhāna was Bakshi, whereas Abdul Farid occupied the position of Qazi. In view of the fact that Ahmedabad including its suburbs was a thriving commercial and manufacturing centre, the *Khatapatra* mentions the term '*Pañcaśreṣṭhin Pañca Lokapāla*'. It is interesting to note that *this Khatapatra* mentions the Marathas as '*Ganīma*' :

'तत्समये श्रीनमैदा-उपकंठे गनीम-हस्तस्तेग्रणामी'. It was conventional on the part of the writer of the document to describe the important contemporary events and this is reflected in this particular case.

Another *Khatapatra* is dated 15-7-1725. (संवत् १७ अषाडादि ८१ वर्षे सा(शा) के १६४७ प्रवर्तमाने माहासोतं (मासोत्तम) मासे सू (शु) [भ] कारी ग्रथें(थ)म आषाड मासे क(कृ)इन पषे(क्षे)त्रि (तृ)तीया तीथौ-गुर् (रु) वासरे as per the original document).

It contains the sale and distribution of the part of the house which was situated in the Adhyārū's Sheri, Tokarshah's Pole, Jamalpur, Ahmedabad. It is written in the *Devanāgarī* Script of the old Gujarati language. It begins with '*Gaṇeśāya namaḥ*'. It is dated 3rd black half of Aṣāḍha month in the year V. E. 1781 and S'. E. 1647 i.e. 15th July, 1725. Lines 5 to 25 give the historical details of Mughal Emperor of Delhi and the Officers of Gujarat with their names and designations, viz., Emperor Muhammad, Dīwān Nizāmulmulk, Sūbedāra Nawāb Hamīdkhān, Dīwān Mehta Mūralīdhara, Dīwan Mominkhan, Bakshi Vākānavīśa Mirzā Amanatkhan, Kāzī Mūstafidakhan, Khūtia Miā Mohoshana-khan, Writer Miā Aśikulā, Mūfati (name not given), Adālat Dārogā Mīrzā Rahemākhān, Koṭapā (wā) la Allāyārakhan, Mushara (ri) fa (name not given), Chotarā Hawāladāra (name not given), Kāhānugo (Kanungo) and Panch Mahājan and their names. In between, a historical fact is noted, in which it is stated that Nāyab Sūbā Hamidkhan had taken the help of *Ganīm* (i.e. Marāṭhas), killed Sujatkhan, Alarāma (Ibrahim) Kulikhan and Rustam Alīkhān, the three

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great nobles of Gujarat. He Collected '*Khaṇḍaṇī*', fourfold '*jīījīo*' and '*vero*' from the 84 castes of Ahmedabad.[8] Historically speaking, this was an epoch-making event in the history of Gujarat. Here the technical words like '*Ganīma*', '*Khaṇḍaṇi*', '*Jījīo*', '*Nāṭyachorasi Vero*' are historically very significant. From line 26 onwards, we have the situation and the graphic description of the house and other details. There were three brothers, Sāhā Pochā, Sāhā Vāchhaḍā and Sāhā Kishora and the said house belonged to them. Sāhā Vāchhaḍā died and his Wife Bai Māṇeka was only nine years old. Bāi Māṇeka was the daughter of Sātidāsa of Vaṇika Ghasāvā Aḍājñāti. The part of the house was purchased by Sātidāsa on behalf of Bāi Māṇeka from Sāhā Pochā and Sāhā Kishora with the help of a Vakil Bhavānīdāsa who had to pay the amount decided by them.

Sāhā Pochā and Sāhā Kishora were the sons of Nānaji and Nānaji was the son of Rahiā. The word '*Valada*' (i.e. son of) is used to suggest the relation between father and son. In this transaction, the two brothers got rupees 102 and each got Rs. 51. These rupees were of the weight of eleven and half Māsā and were obtained from the mint as 'newly minted' (*aḍī*) coins. Here, instead of writing '*Aḍi-nā*', the writer of the *Khatapatra* had used '૨ ॥ nā', so instead of writing in words he had written in figures.

Lastly, on the left hand side, there are signatures of Sāhā Pochā and Kishora and on the right hand side, there are signatures of witnesses. Historically, politically, sociologically, linguistically and culturally and from the point of view of currency, this *Khatapatra* is really significant. The Gujarati prose literature was in a rudimentary stage at that time and this is amply reflected in this *Khatapatra*.

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KIRĀTA AND KIRĀṬA*

By

B. J. SANDESARA†

Pañcatantra (I. 17, Peterson's edition, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series)-

Pūrṇāpūrṇe māne paricitajanavañcanam tathā nityam /
Mithyākrayasya kathanam nijadharmoyam kirātānām //

The verse is generally translated as follows—" Always cheating persons of one's acquaintance by means of measures imperfectly filled up as also by telling false prices is the natural course of conduct of the Kirātas. " And all the translators and annotators explain the word *Kirāta* as an 'aboriginal, predatory tribe ".

Though, by such a translation, the verse gives out a sense, we feel that we do not get a satisfactory meaning quite in keeping with the context.

Being engaged, a few years back, on a critical Gujarati translation of the *Textus Simplicior*, the Western Indian *Pañcatantra*, along with additional stories from other old versions of that celebrated story-book and an exhaustive Introduction on the subject,[1] I had to consult several manuscripts for that purpose. I could find out that the correct reading in the above-mentioned verse is *Kirāṭa* and not *Kirāta*. In a manuscript of the *Textus Simplicior* copied down in V.S. 1532 (1476 A.D.) which was kindly lent to me by the Late Muni Puṇyavijayaji, the verse runs as follows—

Pūrṇapūrṇe māne paricitajanavañcanam tathā nityam /
Mithyākrayasya kathanam nijadharmoyam kirāṭānām //

In a manuscript of the same text copied down in V.S. 1475 (1419 A.D.) in the possession of the Hemachandracharya Jaina Jñāna Mandir at Patan, North Gujarat, the verse reads—

Pūrṇāpūrṇe māne paricitajanavañcanam tathā nityam /
Mithyākrayasya kathanam prakṛtiḥ iyam syād vaṇijānām //

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* Paper presented before the 6th World Sanskrit Conference, held at Philadelphia (U.S.A.), October 1984.

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1 The book was published by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, Bombay, in 1950. The second revised edition is published by the same institution in 1977, from Ahmedabad, as the venue of the Parishad, has been shifted to that city.

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Here we find *Vaṇijānām* in place of *Kirāṭānām* which shows that both these words are synonymous.

The relevant verse in the *Pañcākhyāna*, VI. 21 (V.S. 1255 = 1199 A.D.), the *textus ornatior*, by Pūrṇabhadra, gives the reading Kirāṭa and not Kirāta—

Pūrṇāpūrṇe māne paricitajanavañcanam tathā nityam /
Mithyākrayasya kathanam svabhāvarūpam kirāṭānām //

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (II. 3.35) also the vocable Kirāṭa is used in this sense—

Paṇayiṣyanti vai kṣudrāḥ kirāṭāḥ kūṭakāriṇaḥ /
Anāpadyapi maṁsyante vārtām sādhujugupsitām //

Famous commentators of the *Bhāgavata*—Śrīdharaswāmī in his *Bhāvārthadīpikā*, Vīrarāghavācārya in his *Bhāgavatacandra-candrikā*, Viśvanātha Cakravarti in his *Sārārthadarśinī* and Śukadeva in his *Siddhāntapradīpa*—have upheld the meaning of Kirāṭa suggested by me. However, M. Williams referring to this verse in the *Bhāgavata* and Apte, probably following him, have wrongly given the word as Kirīta in their Sanskrit-English Dictionaries.

Śilāṅkadeva who lived in the eighth century of the Vikrama era, in his commentary on the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra*, a Jaina Canonical text, notes an interesting fact which proves to be very pertinent to our discussion. He says that several castes are given a name after their characteristic blemish; and hence a Brahman is called Ḍoḍa, a merchant Kirāṭa, a Śūdra Ābhīra, and so on. (Āgamodaya Samiti edition, p. 234).

Dr. H. C. Bhayani informs me that in the voluminous Apabhraṁśa poem, *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (10th century), the word Kirāḍa is used (Sandhi 29, verse 15; Sandhi 99, verses 7-8) and the Sanskrit gloss explains it as *Kirāḍah bhavaṇi vaṇig gṛhe*.

In a story in the *Kathākośa Prakaraṇa*, a Prākrit work by Jineśvarasūri (beginning of the 11th century) a merchant is addressed by a character who speaks " *Are Kirāda! Kāsa muhā maccum patthesi ?*" (Singhi Series ed., p. 121, lines 11-12) meaning " O Kirāṭa ! why do you seek (your) death in vain ?" Here the person addressed is a leader of the merchant-guild and there is not an iota of doubt about its meaning.[2]

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2 Dr. A. N. Upadhye has noted in a paper presented before a Seminar on Prākrit studies convened by the University of Bombay in October, 1971 (p. 217) that the Prākrit *Campū*, *Kuvalayamālā* (779 A.D.) of Uddyotanasūri has an expression (p. 107, line 34)— *Kirādaeṇa pariṇeyavvā*. In the corresponding context of its Sanskrit digest by Ratnaprabhasūri the expression stands thus— *Anyenāpi vaṇijā pariṇetavyā*. In the *Jambusāmicariya* of Vīra, the word *Kirāḍa* occurs in this very meaning.

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The *Rājatarangiṇī* of Kalhaṇa (12th cent.) supplies a decisive cross-reference on this point. In the 8th chapter of this historical poem Kalhaṇa describes in several verses deceitful nature and cheating habits of the merchants. He says (VIII. 132-33)—

Candanāṅkalike śvetaṁśuke dhūpādhivāsini /
Viśvastaḥ syāt kirāṭe yo viprakṛṣṭesya na āpadaḥ //
Lalāṭadṛk-kṣatra-śrotradvandva-hṛdgrastacandanaḥ /
Ṣaḍbindu-vṛścika iva kṣaṇāt prāṇāntakṛd vaṇik //

" He who trusts a kirāṭa, a merchant,[3] bearing a sandal-wood mark on his forehead, dressed in white clothes and perfumed with insense-for him disaster is not far off.

The merchant who daubs with sandal his forehead, the eye-lids, the two ears and the chest causes instant death like a scorpion with six spots. "

Jinaharṣagaṇi, the author of the *Vastupālacaritra* (V. S. 1441=1385 A.D.), narrating the life of the minister Vastupāla of Gujarat who was a Prāgvāṭa (or Porvāḍ) vaṇik by caste, employs the word Kirāṭa in the sense of ' merchant '. On the eve of the battle between Śaṅkha, the ruler of Lāṭa, and Vastupāla who was the Governor of Stambhatīrtha or modern Khambhāt in Gujarat, Śaṅkha receives a letter from Vastupāla and sends his reply through an emissary (Ch. IX. 140) :

Niścitam uvācaiṣaḥ kirāṭakulapāṅsanaḥ /
Vāco vaṁśānusāreṇa yat sphuranti śarīriṇām //

" It is but proper on his part that (Vastupāla), the stigma on the family of a merchant, has spoken like this; the people are inspired to utter the speech appropriate to their heredity ".

The *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* quotes a verse (123.15-16) in which the word Kirāṭaka is used in a derogatory sense :[4]

Putrāt api priyatamaikavarāṭakānāṁ /
Mitrāt api prathamayācitabhāṭakānām //
Ājānulambitamalīmasaśāṭakānām /
Vajram divah patatu mūrdhni Kirāṭakānām //

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3 Mr. Ranjit Pandit in his *River of Kings* translates Kirāṭa as Kirāta, and explains it as " Bhils—an aboriginal Indian tribe of the Vindhya Hills and Rajputana " (vide p. 350 and 62), which is not consistent with the context.

4 Sandesara and Thaker, *Lexicographical Studies in Jaina Sanskrit* (Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1962), p. 120.

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"May the thunderbolt from the sky fall on the head of Kirāṭakas or deceitful merchants—for whom a cowrie is dearer than own son, who ask for advance rent or wages even from a friend, whose scarfs (worn on the shoulders) are dirty and hang down to the knees".

So it is beyond doubt that the word *Kirāṭa* means 'a merchant' and that too 'a deceitful one'. I think that *Kirātānām* in I.17 in the *Textus Simplicior* of the *Pañcatantra* should be correctly read as *Kirāṭānām*.

But, it is certain that *Kirāṭa* is derived from Kirāta by cerebralization, the transference of meaning being made possible by a metaphorical process. There is a marked similarity between predatory habits of wild tribes like Kirāta and cheating proclivities of the merchants, and hence the evolution of a semantic change. One is reminded of a saying by the famous rhetorician Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* that *Nāstyacoro Kavijanaḥ, nāstyacoro vaṇigjanaḥ*—"There is no poet who is not a thief (that is, not indebted to his predecessors), there is no merchant who is not a thief".

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THE ARABIC PRINTING PRESS IN TURKEY AND THE ARAB EAST

By

MAQSOOD AHMED*

The name of the inventor of the Arabic printing press is still unknown, but it is fact that it was invented in Fano, Italy. It is a matter of great regret that even standard sources such as Encyclopaedia Americana, Encyclopaedia Britanica, Chambers' Encyclopaedia, the New Century Encyclopaedia of Names, World University Encyclopaedia, the New Columbia Encyclopaedia and the Encyclopaedia of Islam, throw no light on its origin. The only mention we find in them with the exception of Encyclopaedia of Islam is of a venetian printer, Aldus Manutius (1450-1515), who shared the honour of designing and casting the first complete fount of the Greek alphabet, founding a printing press in Venice in 1490 and using for the first time italic type in 1500. Whoever may be the real inventor of the Arabic printing press, a certain amount of credit definitely for its invention goes to Pope Julius II[1] (1443-1513) who, appreciating the need, ordered someone to invent it. Thus an Arabic printing press was set up and it started working in 1514 in the reign of Leo X (1475-1521).[2] From its early output a book of prayer (known as *Kitābal-Suwā'īyah*) dated 1514 is

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1 His original name was Giuliano della Rovers. He was elected Pope in 1503 A.D. and was a liberal patron of Fine Arts. For details see *Collier's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 13, 1976, p. 665, *the New Columbia Encyclopaedia* New York, 1975, p. 1438, *Everyman's Encyclopaedia* Vol. 7, 1958, p. 387, *The Rutledge Dictionary of People* by Barry Jones and M. V. Dixon, New York, 1981, p. 419, *The New Caxton Encyclopaedia*, Vol. II, London, 1977, p. 3460 and *Lipoincott's Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 1410.

2 The original name of Leo (whose French form is 'Leon') was Giovanni de' Medici. A great patron of arts, learning, literature, painting, music and architecture, he was elected Pope on March 11, 1513 and assumed the name of Leo X. For further details, see *the New Century Encyclopaedia of Names*, Vol. II, New York, 1954, p. 2434, *Collier's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 14, New York, 1976, p. 502, *World University Encyclopaedia*, New York, Vol. 9, 1969, p. 2876, and *Lippincott's Pronouncing Directory of Biography and Mythology* Philadelphia, 1930, p. 1527.

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extant[3] (See figure 1). The Psalms which were printed in 1516 were its second product. That apart, the *Qur'ān* was also reproduced in Bunduqīyah,[4] but it was destroyed as it was apprehended that its publication would adversely affect the Christian beliefs.[5] Two other books printed were '*Al-Qānūn*' by Ibn-Sīnā (1593) and '*Nuzhatul Mushtāq*' by Idrīsī. Some other Arabic presses, besides the ones mentioned above, were also established, wherein handreds of Arabic books were put out.[6]

In the middle of the 16th century A.D. Āstānah (Turkey) witnessed the introduction of the Arabic printing press.[7] But its establishment failed to win the favour of orthodox moslems and could not serve there a long time. Muḥammad Jalbi, the then ambassador of the Ottoman Empire to Paris, however, succeeded in getting 'fatwa' (formal legal decision) from the 'ulamā' in its favour and the foundation of a press became possible in 1728 when Ibrāhīm and Sa'īd, son of Muḥammad Jalbi, completed the casting of letters. To begin with, the 'Ulamā', permitted to print non-religious books only, but later, having realised the advantage of the art of printing, they allowed the printing of religious books too. Then the number of presses increased and the printing of a number of valuable works was carried out. Among the books printed were '*Al-Qāmūs-al-Muḥīt*' (1814), '*Al-Kāfiyah*' by Ibn-al-Hājib (1819) and some other forty books. Among other presses of great importance were one that was established in Constantinopole in 1816 and 'Maṭba'ah-al-Jawāib' which was set up perhaps in 1861. In the latter the weekly '*al-Jawāib*', edited by Aḥmad Faris al-Shidyāq and other Arabic books were published.

The first Arabic press in the Arab East appeared in the monastery of Qazḥayy. The press, whose origin is unknown as mentioned above; but which was perhaps introduced from Rome by one of those Lebanese scholars who

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3 See Hitti, P. K., *Labanon in History*, London, 1957, p. 457 and *al-Fākhūri, 'Ḥannā; Tārīkhul Adabil 'Arabiy*, sixth edition, Bairūt, p. 907.

4 The Arabic name of Venice, situated at head of the Adriatic Sea in Italy. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, Leyden, 1923, p. 793. Although no clear mention has been made about the establishment of any Arabic press in Bunduqīyah (Venice), yet it is evident from this sentence that, in addition to the press of Aldus Manutius, there was founded, in Venice, an Arabic press too, in which the *Qur'ān* was printed.

5 See Al-Dasūqi, *'Umar; Fil Adab-al-Ḥadīth*, Vol. 1, seventh edition, Bairūt, p. 51 and Zaidān Jurji, *Kitābu Ādāb-al-Lughāt-al-'Arabīyah*, Vol. 4, p. 43.

6 For details see zaidān, Jurji; *Tarīkh Ādābil Lughātil 'Arabiyah*, Vol. 4, p. 43.

7 See *al-Fākhūrī, Hannā; Tārīkhul Adabil 'Arabiy*, sixth edition, Bairūt, p. 907.

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studied there, produced in 1610 the Psalms in the Syriac language and in Arabic written in Syriac characters (Garshūnī).[8] In 1733, a Greek Catholic deacon named 'Abdullah Zākhir' (1684-1748) moved from Aleppo where he cast the Arabic fount in 1702 (see below) to the monastery of Mār Yūḥanna al-Ṣābigh (St. John the Baptist) at Al-Shuwayr, Lebanon, where he founded a press, which worked for about 150 years, printing many religious books. Using the shuwayr character for models, Yūnus al-Jubaiti, known as Abū 'Askar, established, in a Greek orthodox monastery of Bairūt, a press whose product was again the Psalms (1751).[9] Early in the nineteenth century another monastery that of Tāmīsh in Kisrawān followed the example of Qazḥayy, establishing first a Syriac and later (1855) an Arabic press.[10] Other presses which deserve special notice were 'al-Maṭba'atul Amrikiyah' (1834), 'Maṭba'atul Ābā'il Yasū'iyīn', founded in Bairūt in 1847, 'al-Maṭba'atul Kāthūlikīyah' (1848), 'al-Maṭba'atul Waṭanīyah' (1855), 'al-Maṭba'ah-al-Sūriyah' founded by Khalīl al-Khūrī in 1857, 'al-Maṭba'atul 'Umūmīyah' (1860), 'al-Maṭba'atul 'Arabīyah' (1867), 'Maṭba'ah-al-Ma'ārif (1867), of Al-Busṭānī, in which *Muḥīt-al-Muḥīt*, *Dā'irah-al-Ma'ārif*, *al-Jinān* and *al-Jannah* were published, 'Maṭbaatu Jām'īyatil Funūn (1874), al-Maṭba'ah-al-Adabīyah,[11] etc. Of these, 'al-Maṭba'atul Amrīkīyah'[12] is of special importance. It was established in Bairut by Eli Smith, a pioneer of American missionaries, who, having realised the inadequacy of the Arabic fount, travelled to Egypt and Constantinopole in quest of a design for new characters, and eventually to Leipzig, where a new type, henceforth known as American Arabic, was cast under his direction.[13] Arabic text books and school manuals composed by two renowned scholars of that time, i.e. Nāṣīf al-Yāziji and Buṭrus al-Busṭānī, were among its earliest product. And the first major project of this press was a translation of the Bible[14] in what may be termed neo-classical Arabic, giving the reader for the first time an easy access to the scriptures.[15]

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8 Hitti, P. K.; *History of Syria*, London, 1957, p. 676. See also Hitti; *History of the Arabs*, London, 1970, p. 747.

9 Hitti, P. K ; *Labanon in History*, London, 1957, p. 457.

10 Ibid., p. 457.

11 It was established by Khālīl Sarkis in 1874 and its fount was cast by Ibrāhīm al-Yāziji.

12 It was transferred from Malta where it was founded in 1822 to Bairut in 1834.

13 See Antonius, George; *The Ārab Awakening*, London, 1945, p. 42.

14 In translating the *Bible* the American missionaries secured the services of the just mentioned scholars, i.e. Nāṣīf al-Yāzii and Baṭrus al-Bustāni, and Yūsuf al-Asīr.

15 Hitti, P. K.; *Labanon in History*, London, 1957, p. 457.

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The first Arabic press with Arabic characters in the Arab East made its appearance in 1702 at Aleppo through the initiative of Patriach Athnāsiūs al-Dabbās (1625-1728).[16] Its machine was perhaps brought by Athnāsiūs al-Dabbās from Walachia also spelled Wallachia (Rumania)[17] and the fount was cast by 'Abdullah al-Zākhir' (see figure 2), who also established a press with Arabic characters in al-Shuwayr, Lebanon, in 1733, as mentioned above. The Psalms (1706) were among the first books printed in Aleppo (see figure 3). Another press was installed in 1857 while yet another in Damascus in 1898.

Into Egypt the art of Arabic printing was introduced by Napolean Bonaparte who established in Cairo, in 1798, an Arabic press (al-Maṭba'ah-al-Ahlīyah) which he had plundered from the Vatican. The French conqueror used it for issuing a propaganda sheet in Arabic.[18] It was followed by 'Maṭba'atu Būlāq' which was founded by order of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā, Viceroy of Egypt (1805-1849), in 1821.[19] For its supervision Muḥammad 'Alī invited a Syrian, Niqūlā al-Masabiki (died in 1830), who had learnt printing from movable type in Italy by staying there for four years i.e. from 1815 to 1819. More interested in promoting science and technology and organizing his army on the lines of Napolean's renowned forces than encouraging literature, Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā devoted particular attention towards making arrangements for printing books on science, engineering, technology and the arts of war. This, however, does not mean that during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī only scientific books were produced. There were also published some other works which include *Qāmūs Talyani 'Arabi Kitābul Ajrumiyah fi-al-Naḥw Kitābu Ṣibghatil Harīr, the biography of Alexander, the Great*, Arabic translation by Rifā'ah al-Ṭahṭāwī of a volume of 'Geography' by Malt-Born, some stories of the Arabian Nights, books written by scholars who were sent to Europe by Muḥammad 'Alī for higher studies, accounts of journeys compiled by delegates, most outstanding of whom was Rifā'ah al-Ṭahṭāwī who recorded his journey in a book entitled '*Takhlīs-al-Ibrīz fi Talkhīsi Bārīz*' and translation of European particularly French works including Khedivial Journal first issued in 1822 and the newspaper '*al-Waqā'i-al-Miṣrīyah*' established in 1828.[20] After Muḥammad 'Alī the art of printing suffered a great deal because

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16 Hitti; *History of Syria*, London, 1957, p. 677.

17 For details see *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 28, New York, 1976, p. 269, *Encyclopaedia Britanica*, Vol. 10, 1978, p. 517 and *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 8, 1908, p. 827.

18 Hitti, P. K., *History of Arabs*, London, 1970, p. 745.

19 See Nicholson, R. A.; *A literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge, 1941, p. 468

20 This newspaper is published even today.

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his grandson, Abbasī (1849-54)[21] who had succeeded him was averse to modernization and its means. The newspaper '*al-Waqā'i-al-Miṣrīyah*' therefore, ceased to be published in 1849.[22] During the reign of Sa'īd Pāshā (1854-1863), the youngest son of Muḥammad Alī, the Arabic printing got a new lease of life with the establishment of a press 'al-Maṭba'ah-al-Ahlīyah-al-Qibṭīyah' in 1860 along with the publication of 'Diwans' of two contemporary poets i.e. Shihāb Uddīn Maḥmūd and Sayyid 'Alī al-Darwīsh. As for Ismāîl Pāshā (1863-1879) who left no stone unturned in bringing about modernization in Egypt and making use of its means, he encouraged this art to the greatest possible extent. As a result, it progressed by leaps and bounds during his time and a large number of literary books were produced. They included '*al-Mathal-al-Sāir*' '*Kitābu-al-Aghāni*', '*Tārīkhu Ibn Khaldūn* and his *Muqaddimah*' '*al-'Iqd-al-Farīd*' by Ibn Abdu Rabbihī, '*Wafayāt-al-A'yân*', '*Iḥyāu 'Ulūmiddīn*' by al-Ghazzālī, *Tafsīr-al-Rāzī* and '*al-Qānūn*' by Ibn Sīnā' etc. In addition, the newspaper 'al-Waqā'i-al-Miṣrīyah' and other newspapers, magazines and periodicals, a book by Rifā'ah al-Ṭahṭāwī entitled '*al-Murshid al-Amīn Lī-al-Banāti wa-al-Banīn*', the Arabic translation of the Nepolean Law,[23] entitled '*al-Qawānīn-al-Faransīyah*' '*Mawāqi'ul Aflāk fi Waqāi' Tilmāk*' (Arabic translation of '*les Adventure de Telemaque*')[24] were also produced. Among the presses established in Egypt were Maṭba'ah-al-Jam'īyah-al-Ma'ārif, Maṭba'ah-al-Hilāl, Maṭba'ah-al-Wādī-al-Nīl of Muḥammad Abū al-Su'ūd Āfindi, Maṭba'ah-al-Majallati Rauḍah-al-Madāris, Maṭba,ah-al-Waṭanīyah, etc.. The most important of them was Matba'ah-al-Watanīyah which had the honour of printing the above mentioned classical literary works.

To sum up, a study of the history of the Arabic printing press reveals that printing from movable type was first introduced into Turkey in the middle of the 16th century A.D., but orthodox Moslems felt hesitant to adopt it because the reproduction of the Holy *Qnr'ān* by other than handwriting or lithographing was objectionable to them. In Turkey, the adoption of the printing facilities from movable type became possible in 1728 when 'ulamā' gave "fatwā" (formal legal decision) in their favour. In Egypt, wherein it was introduced in 1798, it made but slow progress. Throughout the whole period of Muḥamad

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21 'Abbās I succeeded Ibrāhīm Pāshā as regent of Egypt in 1848. A year later, following Muḥammad 'Alī's death in 1849, he became Pāshā. See *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 1, New York, 1976, p. 8.

22 Its publication was resumed in 1863 when Iṣmā'il Pāshā came to power. See *al-Dasūqi, 'Umar; Fi-al-Adab-al-Ḥadith*', 7th edition, Bairut, p. 56.

23 The Nepolean Law was rendered from French into Arabic by Rifā'ah al-Tahṭāwī.

24 It was also rendered by Rifā'ah al-Ṭahṭāwī.

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'Alī Pāshā extending from 1805 to 1849, the only press whose mention we find is Maṭba'atu Būlāq (al-Maṭba'atul Amrīkīyah, which was established in Bairūt in 1834 during the occupation of Ibrāhīm Pāshā, is excluded). As for 'Abbās I, he was so averse to this art that he even closed the Būlāq press. Hence there was no question of founding any new press and printing books. His successor, Sa'īd encouraged, though little, the Arabic printing by setting up a press in 1860. It was during the reign of Ismā'īl Pāshā that the art of printing flourished with the foundation of a number of presses and the publication of several standard literary works. The two seats (next to Itlay, Wallachia and other European countries) where the art of Arabic printing progressed uninterruptedly were Lebanon where it made appearance as early as 1610 in a monastery, and Syria which witnessed the establishment of the first press with Arabic characters in 1702. We owe its introduction into the Arab East to Lebanese and Syrian Christians. And it was through Lebanese emigrants that this art spread all the world over. In the words of P. K. Hitti " born in monasteries, the art of Arabic book making was carried mainly by Lebanese emigrants into the six continents of the world. "[25]

25 Hitti, P. K.; *Lebanon in History*, London, 1957, p. 458.

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بسم الله الحي الازلي
صلاة الساعة السادسة =
هلموا نسجد ونركع للملك
ملكنا والاهنا المعبود
التالف والمحسنون اللهم
باسمك خلصني وبعونتك
اذكر لي استحق بها الله صلاتي

صفحة من كتاب السواعية الذي طبع في فانو من اعمال ايطالية
— وهو اول كتاب عربي ظهر الى الوجود بواسطة الطباعة

Figure 1. A page from Kitab al-Suwā'iyyah which was printed in Fano, Italy, in 1514.

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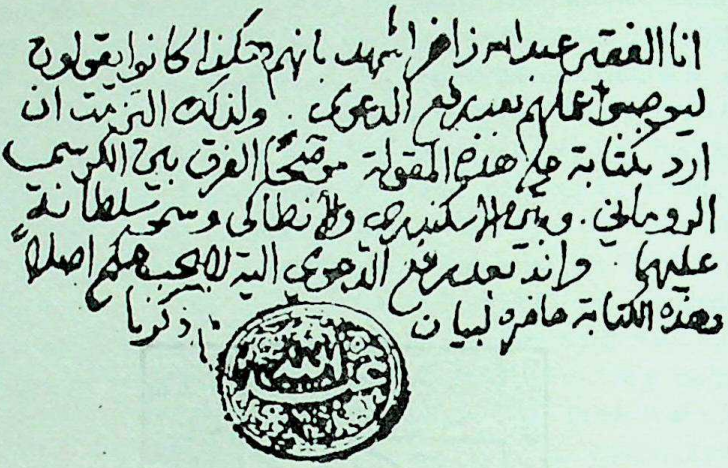
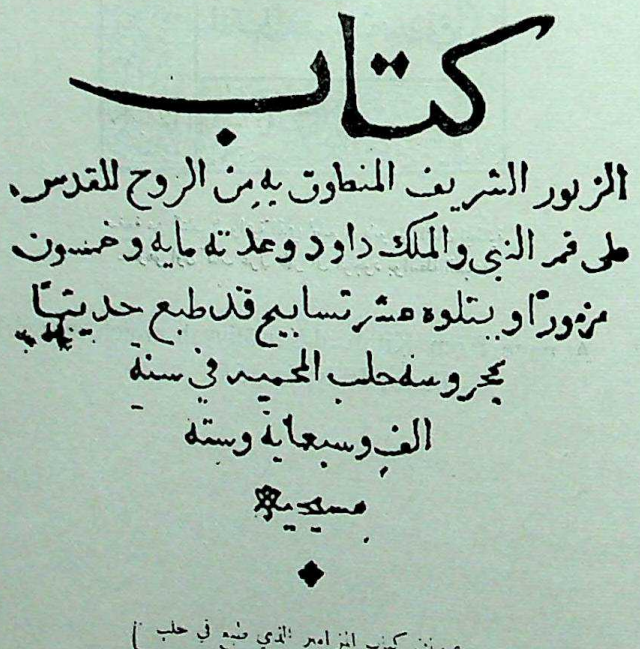


انموذج من خط الزاخر مع ختمه، وهو من حفر يده

Figure 2. A sample of the script of ʿAbd Āllāh al-Zākhir along with his stamp.



عنوان كتاب المزامير الذي طبع في حلب

Figure 3. The title of psalms printed in Aleppo in 1706.

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THE DUAL NATURE OF SĀTTVIKA-BHĀVAS

By

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Of all the chapters in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* the sixth and the seventh chapters, called *Rasādhyāya* and *Bhāvādhyāya* respectively, are perhaps the most significant as they deal with *rasa* (sentiment, aesthetic experience) and *bhāva* (emotion or feeling), which according to Bharata are the vital elements of a drama. The *Bhāvādhyāya* treats of eight *sthāyi bhāvas* (permanent or dominant emotions), thirty-three *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* (transitory feelings, accompanying emotions) and eight *sāttvika bhāvas* (involuntary states) which together make forty-nine *bhāvas*.

From Bharata's own treatment, it is, however, observed that the categories of *bhāvas* are not unalterably fixed. For example, Bharata declares : The accompanying transitory feelings of the sentiment of love (*śṛṅgāra*) are all *vyabhicārins* except laziness, violence and disgust (*jugupsā*). Now *jugupsā*, which is the *sthāyibhāva* (permanent emotion) of the sentiment of *bībhatsa* (the sentiment of horror or odium or disgust) is mentioned here as one of the *vyabhicārins* (transitory feelings) to be avoided when portraying the sentiment of *śṛṅgāra*. This statement of Bharata implies that the so called *sthāyibhāvas* can or could come as *vyabhicāribhāvas* of some other *rasas*.[1] Further, the very fact that Bharata defines all the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* and treats them almost as if they were *sthāyibhāvas* in the seventh *Adhyāya* indicates that the distinction between the two categories of emotions is rather slender. As regards the *sāttvika-bhāvas*

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(1) व्यभिचारिणश्चास्यालस्यौग्र्यजुगुप्सावर्ज्याः ।

—NS VI. p. 306

Cf. " The point is that normally *jugupsā* is the *sthāyibhāva* of *bibhatsa*. It is not given in the list of the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas*, but the very fact that Bharata says that it should not be used in love shows that he felt that it could be a *vyabhicāribhāva* as well as a *sthāyibhāva*. He, therefore, felt that under certain circumstances, ordinary *vyabhicāribhāvas* could become *sthāyibhāvas*, and *sthāyibhāvas* could become *vyabhicāribhāvas*. . "

—Śāntarasa.. (p. 124, f.n. 1).

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Bharata gives them, when defining the individual *rasas*, as *vyabhicāribhāvas*.[2] This fact once again shows that the categories of *bhāvas* as *sthāyins*, *vyabhicārins* and *sāttvikas* are not very strict. In this paper, we confine our discussion to the dual nature of the *sāttvika-bhāvas* only.

While defining *Karaṇa*, Bharata gives *aśrupāta*, *mukhaśoṣaṇa*, *smṛti-lopa* (which according to Abhinavagupta indicates *staṁbha* and *pralaya*) as some of its *anubhāvas;* and *staṁbha*, *vepathu*, *vaivarṇya*, *aśru*, *svarabheda* as some of its *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*.[3] Again, while defining *bhayānaka*, Bharata gives *pulaka*, *mukha-vaivarṇya*, *svarabheda* as some of its *anubhāvas;* and *staṁbha*, *sveda*, *gadgada*, *romāñca*, *vepathu*, *svarabheda*, and *vaivarṇya* as some of its (*vyabhicāri-*) *bhāvas*.[4] Once again, while defining *adbhuta* Bharata gives *romāñca*, *aśru*, *sveda* as some of its *anubhāvas;* and *staṁbha*, *aśru*, *sveda*, *gadgada*, *romāñca*, *pralaya* as some of its (*vyabhicāri-*) *bhāvas*.[5] This treatment of the so-called *sāttvika-bhāvas* unmistakably implies that according to Bharata, they partake of both characters (i.e., they are both *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* and *anubhāvas*). Abhinavagupta, Bharata's commentator, makes explicit what Bharata implies when he speaks of *ābhyantara* (internal) and *bāhya* (external) *sāttvikabhāvas* : (i) " Loss or change of colour, tears and faltering voice—these *sāttvikas* are used here in the sense of internal feelings which have not manifested themselves externally. To explain : 'his throat is chocked with tears but there are no tears in his eyes'. To show that tears, etc., depend on (i.e. partake character of) both *vyabhicāribhāva* and *abhineyatva* (= *abhinaya*), Bharata has described them between the thirty-three) *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, and the (fourfold) *abhinaya*. This we have already said before

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(2) For example (i) व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य (करुणस्य) निर्वेद.....स्तम्भ-वेपथु-वैवर्ण्याश्रुस्वरभेदादयः ।

—NS VI. p. 317

(ii) भावाश्चास्य (भयानकस्य) ...स्तम्भस्वेदगद्गदरोमाञ्चवेपथुस्वरभेदवैवर्ण्य... मरणादयः ।

—NS VI. p. 326

(3) तस्याश्रुपातपरिदेवनमुखशोषवैवर्ण्य...स्मृतिलोपादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य निर्वेद...स्तम्भ-वेपथु-वैवर्ण्याश्रुस्वरभेदादयः ।

—NS VI. p. 317

(4) तस्य प्रवेपित...पुलक-मुखवैवर्ण्य-स्वरभेदादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । भावाश्चास्य स्तम्भ-स्वेद-गद्गद-रोमाञ्च-वेपथु-स्वरभेद-वैवर्ण्य-मरणादयः ।

—NS VI. p. 326

(5) तस्य नयनविस्तार.....रोमाञ्चाश्रुस्वेद...भ्रमणादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । भावाश्चास्य स्तम्भाश्रुस्वेदगद्गदरोमाञ्चावेग...प्रलयादयः ।

—NS VI. p. 330

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(A. Bh. p. 268) and will say again (in the seventh chapter ?)". (ii) " Even in the absence of internal *sāttvikas*, external perspiration, etc., are caused by swallowing poison or by fever, etc. In other words, perspiration, etc., are not invariably of the form or nature of mental states. The internal *sāttvika-bhāvas*, when they are not in excess, are represented simply by using a fan, etc.; and if in excess, they manifest themselves as perspiration, etc., on one's person; and hence are described by Bharata as of the nature of *vyabhicārins*". (iii) " The words '*vāk*', etc. are used in the sense of their functions i.e. *vācika abhinaya* etc... They produce *Kāvyārtha* which is connected with *vācika*, *āṅgika* and *sāttvika abhinaya* as *karaṇa*. The *vācika* is of the form of speech; the *āṅgika* consists of gestures of hands, feet, etc.; and the *sāttvika* is of two kinds : internal and external".[6]

The fact that Bharata mentions the *sāttvika-bhāvas* separately immediately after the *vyabhicāribhāvas* and just before *Catvāro'bhinayāḥ* (fourfold dramatic representation) he ingeniously explains as follows : the *sāttvikas* depends on (i.e. partake of) both characters, viz., *vyabhicāribhāva* and *abhinaya* (acting or dramatic representation). That is precisely why they are described or classed separately.[7] For '*abhinayas*' means *anubhāvas* themselves.[8]

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(6) (i) **वैवर्ण्याश्रुस्वरभेदा** अत्र बहिरुद्भिन्न [? बहिरनुद्भिन्न] स्वभावाश्चित्तवृत्त्यात्मानो गृह्यन्ते । तथा हि वक्तारो भवन्ति 'अश्रुणा पूर्णोऽस्य कण्ठो न च नयनजलं दृष्टम्' इति । एते त्वश्रुप्रभृतयो व्यभिचारित्वाभिनेयत्वोपजीवनायैव मध्ये निर्दिष्टा इत्यवोचाम वक्ष्यामश्च । तेन न पौनरुक्त्यम् ।

—A. Bh. VI. p. 318, Prof. Kangle's edn.

(ii) **भावा** इति व्यभिचारिणः । स्वेदादयो बाह्याः । आभ्यन्तराः सात्त्विका- (क)-भावोऽपि ? (? स्वेदादयो बाह्या आभ्यन्तरसात्त्विकाभावेऽपि विषस्पर्शज्वरादिना भवन्ति । ततोऽनैकान्तिकाः । आन्तरा अनुद्रिक्ता व्यजनग्रहणादिभिरुद्रिक्ताः । (? °ग्रहणादिभिः, उद्रिक्ता) बाह्यैः स्वेदादिभिर्व्यक्ता व्यभिचारिरूपाः पठिताः ।

—A. Bh. VI. p. 321, Prof. Kangle's edn. p. 285

(iii) **वागङ्गेति** । वागादयस्तत्कर्मसु वर्तन्ते । तेन वर्णनात्मना वाचिकेन संनिवेश-वलनादी (? दि) नाङ्गिकेनान्तर्बहिरात्मना सात्त्विकेन करणभूतेनोपेतान् सम्बद्धान् ।

—A. Bh. VII. p. 343, Prof. Kangle's edn. p. 367

(7) व्यभिचारित्वाभिनयत्वोपजीवका इति (तदनन्तरं) सात्त्विकाः । ...सात्त्विका व्यभिचारि-वृत्तमभिनयवृत्तं चोपजीवन्तीति पृथगभिनयादिभ्यो गणिताः ।

—A. Bh. VI. p. 268, Prof. Kangle's edn. p. 114

(8) अभिनया अनुभावा एव ।

—A. Bh. VI. p. 290

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When commenting on the technical term *bhāva*, Abhinavagupta says : by the word '*bhāva*' particular mental states alone are meant. . . The *vibhāvas* like seasons, garlands, etc., and the external manifestations of feelings like tears, etc. (*anubhāvas*), which are absolutely inanimate, cannot be designated or called by the term *bhāva* (mental state).[9] Citing this statement Raghavan observes : "They (tears, etc.) are *bāhya-anubhāvas*, physical manifestations and hence are *jaḍas*. Abhinavagupta says that the *sāttvikas* cannot be called *bhāvas* at all strictly, though we speak of *sāttvikabhāva*. The name *bhāva* primarily applies to mental states, the *sthāyins* and the *vyabhicārins*".[10] This observation holds good as far as the *bāhya sāttvika-bhāvas* (like tears, etc.,) are concerned. Abhinavagupta, however, recognises *āntara* or *ābhyantara vaivarṇya, aśru, svarabheda*, etc., also as *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*. Thus, it is very clear that as far as Bharata and Abhinavagupta are concerned, they admit *sāttvika-bhāvas* to be both *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *anubhāvas*. In other words, they hold that the *sāttvika-bhāvas* have dual character. And immediately after two or three lines following the passage which Raghavan has cited, Abhinavagupta himself concludes :

तस्मात् स्थायि-व्यभिचारि-सात्त्विका एव भावाः ।

"Therefore *sthāyins*, *vyabhicārins* and *sāttvika-s* alone deserve to be designated or called *bhāva*".

Now, immediately after dealing with eight *sthāyibhāvas* and thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* Bharata goes on to consider *sāttvikabhāvas*. He starts off with the following *objection* : "Are the other mental states (*sthāyibhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*) represented without *sattva* whence only these (to be described soon) are called *sāttvika*" ? Reply: *sattva* is something which arises from the mind. It emerges or results from the concentrated mind. The *sāttvika-bhāva* which is of the form of *romāñca* (horripilation or goose-flesh), tears (*aśru*) paleness or loss of colour (*vaivarṇya*), etc., and is in accordance with its appropriate feeling, cannot be acted out by an absent-minded actor. The *sattva* is essential in drama as it is an imitation or reproduction or representation or re-enacting of what happens in every-day life or of human nature. To explain : situations of happiness and misery that are to be enacted on the stage should be properly presented with the help or on the strength of *sattva* so that they appear completely realistic. How can sorrow which consists in weeping be acted out on the stage by anyone who is not himself unhappy ? (who has no experience of unhappiness) ? And how can happiness consisting in joy be acted out on the

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(9) भावशब्देन तावच्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषा एव विवक्षिताः । ...ये त्वेते ऋतुमाल्यादयो विभावा बाह्याश्च बाष्पप्रभृतयोऽनुभावा एकान्तजडस्वभावाः ते न भावशब्दव्यपदेश्याः । —A. Bh. VII. p. 342

(10) *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa*, 1963 edn. (p. 448)

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stage by any one who is not happy (by temperament) ? This itself is the *sattva* in an actor : feigning to be in an unhappy or in a happy state, he has to shed tears and display horripilation respectively. And that is why these states are called *sāttvika-bhāvas*.[11]

These are the eight *sāttvikabhāvas* : 1. paralysis, 2. perspiration, 3. horripilation, 4. faltering voice, 5. trembling, 6. loss of colour or paleness, 7. tears and 8. fainting.

Abhinavagupta explains the term *sattva* as concentration of the mind (*cittaikāgryam*). According to one commentator (*ṭikākāra*) cited by Abhinavagupta, it means *manas samādhānam*, the same as *cittaikāgryam*. In one context, he paraphrases *sattva-samuttham* as *prayatnakṛtam;* in another context he explains it as what results from concentration of the mind (*manas-samādhānajam*) and stresses the supreme importance of great effort (*prayatna*) for *sattva* (concentration of the mind) for *nāṭya* (drama) rests or is founded on *sattva*. " *Sattva* is something invisible but serves as the basis of mental states by means of horripilation, tears; and other *sāttvika* states displayed in accordance with the situations and sentiments ". Compared with *sāttvika abhinaya* the role of *vācika* and *āṅgika abhinaya*s in drama is not so important, says Abhinavagupta.[12] It deserves our notice that the authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, who generally follow Abhinavagupta.

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(11) इह हि सत्त्वं नाम मनःप्रभवम् । तच्च समाहितमनस्त्वादुच्यते । मनसः समाधौ सत्त्वनिष्पत्तिर्भवति । तस्य च योऽसौ स्वभावो रोमाञ्चाश्रुवैवर्ण्यादिलक्षणो यथाभावोपगतः स न शक्योऽन्यमनसा कर्तुमिति । लोकस्वभावानुकरणत्वाच्च नाट्यस्य सत्त्वमीप्सितम् । ...एतदेवास्य सत्त्वं यत् दुःखितेन सुखितेन वाऽश्रुरोमाञ्चौ दर्शयितव्यौ इति कृत्वा सात्विका भावा इत्यभिव्याख्याताः ।

—NS VII, pp. 374-75

(12) सत्त्वं चित्तैकाग्र्यम् ।

—A. Bh. I p. 346

सत्त्वं मनःसमाधानम्...टीकाकारः ।

—A. Bh. I p. 327

सत्त्वसमुत्थं प्रयत्नकृतम् ।

—A. Bh. I p. 328

सत्त्वं च मनस्समाधानजम् ।

—A. Bh. III p. 150

तस्माद् भूयसा प्रयत्नेन विना (न) सिद्ध्यतीति । ...सत्त्वस्य हि प्रयत्नाधिक्यमुपयोगीति वागङ्गयोरुपादानमलमेवेति — अलमनेत (न) ।

—A. Bh. III p. 150

नाट्यं सत्त्वे प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

—NS XXII. 1. d

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explain the term *sattva* after Abhinavagupta, though the words and expressions differ : When the mind is attentive it is called *sattva*. For if the mind be inattentive, it is not possible for the actor to act out the *sāttvikabhāvas* like *svarabheda*, etc. "[13]

In continuation of this (Abhinavagupta's) discussion of the nature of *sattva*, Hemacandra's discussion of the *sāttvikas* deserves to be taken up. For, it is surely enough based, to the best of our belief,[14] on the missing portion of the *Abhinava-bhāratī* (Ch. VII) dealing with the *sāttvika-bhāvas*; the relevant portion from *Kāvyānuśāsana* as translated into English by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan is given at the end of this paper as an Appendix to facilitate ready reference. In this paper, we confine ourselves to the main points of the discussion :

Sattva means *prāṇātmakaṃ vastu* (vital energy). It is so called because the mind dwells in it and because there is exuberance or predominance of *sattva-guṇa* in it and because it is characterised by intrinsic goodness. The *sāttvika-bhāvas* arise from it. They are in the state of knowledge of *rati*, etc., which emerge from the *prāṇa-bhūmi*. (The idea is : the particular mental states like *rati*, etc., first appear as manifestations of consciousness. They then colour—by superimposing their own nature—the *ābhyantara* (internal) *prāṇas*. In other words, flowing from their original mental state, they rest in the internal *prāṇas* without transforming themselves into external manifestations of feeling (*anubhāva*) like stupefaction (*stambha*), perspiration (*sveda*), etc..). They are distinct

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सत्त्वातिरिक्तोऽभिनयो ज्येष्ठ इत्यभिधीयते ।

—NS XXII. 2. ab

अव्यक्तरूपं सत्त्वं हि विज्ञेयं भावसंश्रयम् ।
यथास्थानरसोपेतं रोमाञ्चास्रादिभिर्गुणैः ॥

—NS XXII. 3

सात्त्विकाभावे ह्यभिनयक्रियानामापि नोन्मीलति । अभिनयनं हि चित्तवृत्तिसाधारणतापत्तिप्राणसाक्षात्कारकल्याध्यवसायसंपादनमिति । अत एवोक्तं सत्त्वे नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितमिति ।

—A. Bh. III. p. 150

(13) अवहितं मनः सत्त्वं तत्प्रयोजनं हेतुरस्येति सात्त्विकः ।
मनोऽनवधाने हि न शक्यन्त एव स्वरभेदादयो नटेन दर्शयितुम् ॥

—ND, Baroda, 1959 edn, p. 169

(14) I had given expression to this belief in a foot note to my paper on *Abhinavabhārati : Chapter VII Recovered* ? First published in Journal, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. No. XX, No. 3, March 1971. The various passages from *Abhinavabhāratī* (Ch. VI and VII) cited above have strengthened my belief almost into conviction.

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from bodily or physical tears, etc., which are external and inanimate (insentient or non-sentient) in their nature or form. They are produced by the same *vibhāva*s which produce *rati* etc.; to put it differently, the *vibhāva*s of the *sthāyin*s like *rati*, etc., and of the *sāttvikabhāva*s like *stambha*, *sveda*, etc. are the same. They are beyond the range of aesthetic experience or relish. They are, however, suggested—their presence is conveyed—by their consequents, i.e. by their external manifestations. Although physical weakness (*glāni*) laziness (*ālasya*); fatigue (*śrama*), stupor (*mūrcchā*), etc., are devoid of *ālambana-viṣaya*, still as they are caused by external factors, they are listed (or enumerated or counted) among *vyabhicārin*s. The mental states like stupefaction (*stambha*), etc. are, on the contrary, not caused by external factors, and hence they are called *sāttvikas*.

The external *sāttvika*s stupefaction (*stambha*), etc., are bodily or physical attributes (*śarīra-dharma*) and therefore are called *anubhāva*s. They first suggest their corresponding internal, *sāttvika-bhāva*s but ultimately (really speaking or in reality) they suggest the mental states or emotions like love, world-weariness, etc.

These *sāttvika-bhāva*s occur in connection with each one of the sentiments (*rasa*s). They do not enjoy even a slight trace of independence (or of occasional predominance)—not even like the *vyabhicārin*s on the analogy of a king's servant enagaged in his own marriage ceremony who is followed by the king (at the time of the marriage procession). (That is, in relation to his own servant, the king occupies, for the time being, a position subordinate to that of his own servant).

Dhanañjaya, who closely follows *Nāṭyaśāstra*, pointedly refers to the dual nature of the *sāttvika-bhāva*s :

पृथग्भावा भवन्त्यन्येऽनुभावत्वेऽपि सात्त्विकाः ।
सत्त्वादेव समुत्पत्तेस्तच्च तद्भावभावनम् ॥

—DR IV. 4 (b)-5 (a)

i.e., the *sāttvika*s, although they are of the nature of *anubhāva*s, are *bhāva*s other than *sthāyin*s (permanent emotions) and *vyabhicārin*s (transitory feelings). For, they arise from *sattva* and it (*sattva*) means " making the spectator's mind or heart realize the joys or sorrows of the character portrayed ". It is the actor, who plays the role of Rāma, etc., who, by the strength of his fourfold dramatic representation, makes the spectator apprehend clearly or experience *almost directly* the joys or sorrows the character (Rāma) seems to have gone through. In the words of Keith : " The consequents are the external manifestations of feeling, by which the actors exhibit to the audience the minds and hearts of the persons of the drama. . . A special class is later made of those consequents, which are the involuntary product of sympathetic realization of the feeling of the person portrayed, and hence are called *sāttvika*, as arising from a heart which is ready

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to appreciate the sorrows or joys of another (*sattva*)".[15] Raghavan explains *sattva* as follows : It is the making of our own hearts take the shape of what is presented in the poem or drama. This is *sattva*. This is how even *rājasa* and *tāmasa bhāvas* like anger and sorrow came to be *sāttvika*. The Sāṁkhya term *sattva* is used in this context with a specialised meaning imported (injected) into it and equated with *sattva* well known in dramaturgy as meaning "*tanmayi-bhavana*".[16] At another place he observes : "Surely *sattva* means *manas* and as all *bhāvas* are mental moods, they are all *sāttvikas*. *Sāttvika* also means, from the point of view of the actor... those *bhāvas* in the acting of which the actor had to enter into the mind and show. Though such acting is common to all *bhāvas*, it is true most of the *sāttvikas*, for a tear has to be shown by an actual tear and horripilation by horripilation".[17] Viśvanātha defines *sattva* thus :

Sattva "is a certain inward disposition which spontaneously reveals the repose of one's soul *where it does not interfere to modify the indication*" and *sāttvikas* as "Those changes *in* a human being are called 'involuntary or *honest and spontaneons*-which arise from *sattva*". These *sāttvikas* differ from the *anubhāvas* (consequents) in general only in their taking rise in *sattva*—just in the same way as the bull differs from the cattle (*go-balīvarda-nyāyena*); in other words, the *sāttvikas* are a special class of the *anubhāvas* in general. Śāradātanaya deals with the *sāttvika-bhāvas* in his *Bhāvaprakāśana*. Kumārasvāmin in his *Ratnāpaṇa* commentary on *Pratāparudrīya* takes note of his view along with those of others.

Kumārasvāmin's *Ratnāpaṇa* commentary is remarkable for its resume of a variety of interpretations of *sattva*, the source of the eight *sāttvika-bhāvas*. He specifically mentions *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Ācārya Hemacandra, and *Rasanirūpaṇa* of Naraharisūri in the course of his exposition of the technical term *sattva* and the *sāttvika-bhāvas*. He is indebted to *Daśarūpakāvaloka* also for his explanation of *sattva* and the dual nature of *sāttvikabhāvas*. As already observed above, Hemacandra is almost certainly indebted to Abhinavagupta for his treatment of

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(15) *The Sanskrit Drama* by A. B. Keith, Oxford University Press, 1964 edn, p. 315

(16) *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, Madras, 1963 edn, p. 484.

(17) Ibid, p. 441

(18) "सत्त्वं नाम स्वात्मविश्रामप्रकाशकारी कश्चनान्तरो धर्मः ।
विकाराः सत्त्वसम्भूताः सात्त्विकाः परिकीर्तिताः ।
सत्त्वमात्रोद्भवत्वात्ते भिन्ना अप्यनुभावतः ।
– 'गोबलीवर्दन्यायेन' इति शेषः ॥

—*Sāhityadarpaṇa* III, 134-35

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the *sāttvikabhāvas*. So Kumārasvāmin may be said to be indebted to Abhinavagupta through Hemacandra.

Abhinavagupta, Hemacandra and Kumārasvāmin unambiguously state that the mental states such as love, world-weariness, etc. become transformed into (internal) *sāttvika-bhāvas*, *stambha*, etc., owing to sympathetic realization; and that they are indicated by the *external*, insentient, physical and bodily consequents such as *stambha*. etc.; and that ultimately -in reality- just the mental states such as love, world-weariness, etc., are suggested by the external manifestations.

Kumārasvamin records four different views regarding *sāttvikabhāvas* held by "some" (*Kecit*, *Anye*). The first view stated by him is identical with Ācārya Hemacandra's (or rather Abhinavagupta's) view (cf. *Kāvyānuśāsana*, pp. 144-45). According to the second view, *sattva* is a particular kind of strength or energy (*bala*) which is of the nature of making the spectators or audience realize vividly, without the aid of other *bhāvas* (the *vyabhicārins*, transitory feelings) the particular *rasa*; and *sāttvikabhāvas* are those external manifestations of feelings which arise from that *sattva*. According to the third view, *sāttvikabhāvas* are stupefaction, etc., themselves, which though similar to *anubhāvas* (consequents like sidelong glances, etc.) are called *sāttvikabhāva* on the analogy of words like *paṅkaja*, etc. These words although etymologically mean 'anything produced in mud', by convention mean only 'a lotus'. The *sāttvikabhāvas* are the outcome of *sattva*, the manifestations of *sattva* but because of the predominance of the *annamayakośa* they convey external manifestations such as stupefaction, etc., through *yoga-rūḍhi* (etymology delimited by convention). According to the fourth view, the term *sāttvikabhāvas* is used to denote only the external manifestations of feelings like stupefaction, etc., because of its well-known usage in the *alaṁkāra-śāstra* (poetics) just as in the Vaiśeṣika system of philosophy the word *padārtha* is used to indicate the three categories out of seven, viz., *dravya*, *guṇa* and *karma* (substance, quality and Action respectively). Out of these conflicting views, Kumāraswāmin has no special preference for anyone.

According to *Rasataraṅgiṇī*, '*sattva*' means living body; and the *sāttvikas* are its attributes i.e. the *sāttvikas* are physical effects—stupefaction, etc. are physical effects and are called *sāttvikabhāvas*. The *sthāyi-bhāvas* and *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, being internal, are (of course) not physical effects.[19]

Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā (p. 10) says : Although these *sāttvikas*, in accordance with their possibility (*yathā-saṁbhava*) occur in one and all *rasas*, still disregard-

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(19) ...अत्रेदं प्रतिभाति सत्त्वशब्दस्य प्राणिवाचकत्वात्। अत्र सत्त्वं जीवच्छरीरं तस्य धर्माः सात्त्विकाः। तथा च शारीरा भावाः स्तम्भादयः सात्त्विका भावा इत्यभिधीयन्ते। स्थायिनो व्यभिचारिणश्च भावा अन्तरतया न शरीरधर्मा...।

—*Rasataraṅgiṇī*, Section IV (*Sāttvikabhāvanirūpaṇa*)

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ing their nature as *vyabhicārins* they are enumerated separately as *sāttvikabhāvas* since they originate in *sattva* alone. And that *sattva* means the extreme readiness of the actor's/spectator's heart to appreciate the sorrow (or joys) of another (the original character); and it arises from a (concentrated) mind.[20]

Prabhākara says in his *Rasapradīpa* (p. 18) : " The *sāttvikas* are counted or included among *anubhāvas* as they are the effects of *rati* (love), etc. They are described separately as they are produced from *sattva*, their invariable cause. It is defined as follows : In poetics, the mind, when it is not affected or contaminated or influenced by *rajas* and *tamas* (the other two constituent elements of *prakṛti*) is called *sattva*. The *sāttvika-bhāvas* are so called as they are able to produce or evoke *rasa* through their connection with it (*sattva*) ".[21]

The explanation of *sattva* as *jīvaccharīra* given in *Rasataraṅgiṇī* though novel is not in conformity with Bharata, who very clearly and without any ambiguity whatsoever explains it with reference not to 'living body' but to concentration of the mind, i.e., what results from such a concentration. (N. S. Ch. VII, pp. 374-75).

Dr. J. L. Masson and Prof. M. V. Patwardhan observe in their Notes (*Aesthetic Rapture*, Vol. II, p. 63) : " Note Abhinava, p. 268 : *sāttvikā vyabhicārivṛttam abhinayavṛttam copajīvantīti pṛthagabhinayādibhyo gaṇitāḥ*. Abhinava's point seems to be that Bharata mentions them separately from the *vyabhicāribhāvas* because they have a dual character : they are transitory (*vyabhicāri*) and they depend on acting. But in so far as the *vyabhicāribhāvas* belong to the actor, they are also dependent on *abhinaya*. Abhinava's explanation is thus not very convincing. Perhaps, Bharata has mentioned the *sāttvikabhāvas* separately because they are harder to feign. It is easy to imitate delight, but more difficult to make one's hair stand on end (*romāñca*) either in fear or in pleasure ". It is rather

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(20) यद्यपि एते यथासंभवं सर्वेषु रसेषु व्यभिचरन्ति तथापि व्यभिचारित्वमनादृत्य सत्त्वमात्र-संभवा भवन्ति इति सात्त्विका इति भिन्नतया गणिताः । तच्च सत्त्वं परगत[-सुख-]दुःखादिभावनायाम् अत्यन्तानुकूलान्तःकरणत्वं मनःप्रभावः (? मनःप्रभवम्) । तेन सत्त्वेन वृत्ताः सात्त्विकाः ।

—*Rasaratnadīpikā*, Section III (*Vibhāvānubhāva-sāttvika-lakṣaṇa*)

(21) अनुभावलक्षणमाह धनिकः...सात्त्विकास्त्वेतदन्तर्गता एव ।
तेषामपि रत्यादिकार्यत्वात् । भिन्नतया प्रतिपादनं तु नियत-कारण-सत्त्व-जनितत्वात् । तल्लक्षणं तु—

रजस्तमोभ्यामस्पृष्टं मनः सत्त्वमिहोच्यते ।
निवृत्तयेऽस्य तद्योगात् प्रभवन्तीति सात्त्विकाः । इति ।
अस्य रसस्येति प्रकृतपरामर्शः ।

—*Rasapradīpa*, Section II (*Rasaviveka*)

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difficult to agree with the authors when they say "Abhinava's explanation is thus not very convincing". As Abhinava observes elsewhere (A. Bh. Ch. VI, p. 290) '*abhinayā anubhāvā eva*', the *sāttvika*s have a dual nature : they are transitory feelings, and at the same time, external manifestations of feeling. That is why a special class is made of the eight *sāttvika*s, stupefaction, perspiration, horripilation, etc., "which are the involuntary product of sympathetic realisation of the feeling of the person portrayed, and hence are called *sāttvika*, as arising from a heart which is ready to appreciate the sorrow or joys of another (*sattva*)".[22] This nature helps us to distinguish very clearly these eight *sāttvika-bhāva*s from the usual thirty-three transitory feelings and the other external manifestations of feeling. That the *sāttvika*s are harder to feign, as they involve or demand complete concentration of the mind on the part of the actor/spectator, is very true and acceptable to one and all.

The explanation given by *Bhāratīya Nāṭyasāstra* (in Marathi) as to why the *anubhāva*s, *stambha*, *sveda*, etc., are called *sāttvika*s may briefly be stated as follows : "In everyday life, we find that in appropriate circumstances and situations, the *sthāyin*s, *rati* (love) etc., are awakened quite naturally; and their corresponding physical effects become manifest to discerning people. But, an actor has to produce with great effort these artificial mental states by means of sympathetic realisation of the feelings of joys and sorrows in others. To distinguish these artificial mental states from the natural mental states of love, etc., they are given different names on the basis of the particularly prominent *anubhāva*s manifested on their awakening. The eight *sthāyin*s, *rati*, *hāsa*, *śoka-krodha*, *utsāha*, *bhaya*, *jugupsā* and *vismaya* may thus have been given the *sāttvika* names : 1. *pralaya*, 2. *svarabhaṅga*, 3. *aśru*, 4. *vepathu*, 5. *sveda*, 6. *vaivarṇya*, 7. *romāñca* and 8. *stambha*. But later on there was utter confusion between these names of artificial *sthāyin*s and the *anubhāva*s bearing these very names. Consequently, a doubt might have arisen whether they are *anubhāva*s or *bhāva*s.

This explanation is ingenious no doubt but not convincing. If the names of the eight *sāttvika*s were standing in the same order as we find in the case of the eight *sthāyin*s with reference to the eight *rasa*s, the explanation offered by *Bhāratīya Nāṭya-śāstra* would have gained some worthwhile support from Bharata.

Abhinavagupta's theory of internal and external *sāttvikabhāva*s involving the Sāṁkhya and the Vedānta concepts of *sattva* (*rajas* and *tamas*), and the *Kośa*s respectively is certainly novel and interesting. However, it does not seem to have found favour with later thinkers except Ācārya Hemacandra, Narahari-

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(22) Keith : *The Sanskrit Drama*, 1964 edn, p. 315

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sūri[23] and Kumārasvāmin. May be, they found it unconvincing or unsatisfactory or regarded it as unimportant and unworthy of consideration.[24]

Appendix

(*Note :* Here is Prof. M. V. Patwardhan's translation of Ācārya Hemachandra's sections in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* (MJV edn. Bombay 1964) dealing with the topic of the *sāttvikabhāvas* :

Now, he speaks of the *sāttvikabhāvas*).

Sūtra 79 : Stupefaction (*stambha*), perspiration (sveda), horripilation (*romāñca*), faltering voice (*svarabheda*, the same as *svarabhaṅga*), trembling (*kampa*, the same as *vepathu*), change of colour or paleness (*vaivarṇya*), tears (*aśru*) and fainting or loss of consciousness (*pralaya*)—these are the eight *sāttvikabhāvas*.

Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi on the 'sūtra : The word *sattva* means vital force (or energy) (*elan vital*), because of the etymology, viz. : The mind is lodged in it, and because vital force consists in an excess of *sattva-guṇa* and because of its inherent goodness (*sattva* = *sādhutva*). The *sāttvikabhāvas* have their origin (or existence) in *sattva*, i.e., in the vital force and hence they are known by the name *sāttvika*. The *sāttvikabhāvas* are associated with the emotions (or psychic states) such as *rati* (love) etc., which arise (or emerge) from the bed-rock (*bhūmi*) of the vital force. They are distinct from the physical effects such as tears, etc., which are extraneous (to the vital force), and which are non-sentient in their nature or form (*jaḍa-rūpa*). They are produced (*āhṛtā*) only by the *vibhāvas* associated (as causes) with the psychic states, such as *rati* (love) etc, and are beyond the pale of aesthetic experience (*aticarvaṇā-gocareṇa vibhāvena*), and their presence (i.e., the presence of (the internal) *sāttvikabhāvas*) is intimated (or suggested) by their consequents.

To explain : The psychic states, when they enter into the predominantly earth-allied element in the vital force give rise to *stambha*—stupefaction, i.e., the

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(23) एवं प्राचामालङ्कारिकाणामनेकधा पारिप्लवं वर्तते । .....
विशेषान्तराणि नरहरिसूरिविरचिते रसनिरूपणे द्रष्टव्यानि ।
—*Pratāparudrīya-Ratnāpaṇa* (Madras, 1914 edn, p. 160)

(24) For translation of the two passages by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan, vide Appendix to this paper.

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blocking (inhibition) of sensation (*Cetanā; ceṣṭā*—physical movement); when they enter (i.e., affect) the predominantly water-allied element in the vital force give rise to tears. But as *tejas* (heat) is intimately allied to the vital force, either intensely (acutely) or in a feeble manner (mildly), and it gives rise to perspiration and paleness of the body and as it (*tejas*) is the cause of that (perspiration and paleness ?) therefore it is spoken in that way (tathā ? sense not clear). When *ākāśa* (space) affects (*anugraha*) (the vital force), there arises *pralaya* fainting, loss of consciousness). But when *vāyu* (air) affects the vital force ? *vāyu-svātantrye ?* obscure. We expect *vāyu-anugrahe* on the analogy of *tejas-anugraha* and *ākāśānugraha*) as air (wind) affects) (becomes infused in (the vital force) either slowly, swiftly or in a manner midway between the two, it becomes transformed in a triple way viz., horripilation, tremor or trembling and faltering voice. Such is the view of those conversant with Bharata (i.e. with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata).

Viveka on the above cited passage, p. 144 : " The bed-rock of the vital force ". The idea is as follows : The particular psychic states such as love, etc., first emerge into prominence as manifestations of consciousness. Then they affect (tinge) through the superimposition of their own natures the internal vital force. And this is not something that is incomprehensible. For instance, the infusion (or accession) first arises or manifests itself as something blazing up (or burning) (flushing, simmering) (emending the text ' *krodhāveśe antarā jvalateva* ' to ' *krodhāveśaḥ antarā jvalanniva* '), and then perspiration follows (due to exasperation). With this very idea in his mind Bāṇabhaṭṭa has said : First austerities drop down (i.e., become ineffective) and then the fluid of perspiration begins to ooze (from the body '* (*Harṣacarita*, I, p. 13).

When a particular psychic state attains to (or reaches) such a phase in that manner, it is also observed in the world to be restrained (or inhibited) from reaching a climactic point in the form of visible physical effects (or manifestations). For example : ' The mind (heart) of the beloved one, prone to passion (love), as it becomes agitated (excited) at the sight of the moonlike face of her dear lover does not come to rest (i.e. does not become pacified), although the manifestation of physical effects such as perspiration has been restrained through (fear of) its being noticed by the elderly people (near about) (*guru-saṁkama* = *gurusaṁkrama* = *gurujanadarśanabhaya*) [In the *Viveka*, p. 145, *gurusaṁkama* is explained as ' *guru-viṣaye mā saṁkramīt* and hence I understand it to mean " it should not come to the notice of elderly people near about].

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* Cf. P. V. Kane (edn. p. 4) observes : " The austerities (performed by the angry man) are (first) dissolved, i.e., have to give way before the wave of passion. The angry man (then) perspires ".

—Kane's edn., Notes

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Viveka, p. 145 : The heart (mind) of the beloved one being prone to an upsurge of passion at the sight of (the face of) her dear lover, becomes agitated (or excited). And although the external physical effects of passion have been checked by her in order that they should not be noticed by elderly people (nearby), her heart (mind) does not become relaxed (restful) but is still full of agitation (restlessness (*kṣobhamaya*) caused by *sāttvikabhāvas* such as internal perspiration, (tremor), etc. Further in the stanza there is suggested an illustration (*nidarśanam*) (illustrating the situation directly expressed, i.e., this stanza suggests a simile or comparison). To explain : The turbulent (*rai* = *rayin* = *vegavān* = *prakṣubdhaḥ*) ocean agitated up to its innermost depth (*āhṛdayam*) at the sight of the moon possessing a pleasing face (orb), and though having its advancing inundating waves checked by the huge embankment (or reclining wall) (along the coast), it does not come to rest (i.e. does not cease to have rising waves). The word *sāgara* has both the masculine and neuter genders in Sanskrit; or though it has only the masculine gender in Sanskrit, there is the mutation of its gender (into the neuter gender) in Prakrit. Thus in this stanza, the feeling of love, while giving up its purely psychic nature, does not lead to external, physical (visible, palpable) effects (such as perspiration, tremor, etc.), and so it is described or presented (here) (by the poet) as resting on the bed-rock of the vital force itself.

Ratyādigatenaiveti—By only the *vibhāvas* associated (as causes) with love, etc. "—and not by any other *vibhāvas*, for they are independent of proneness (or orientation) to particular external objects (sense not clear to me). Although *glāni*, *ālasya*, *śrama*, *mūrcchā*, etc., are devoid of *ālambanaviṣaya* (?) still as they are caused by external factors they are enumerated (or enlisted) among the *vyabhicāribhāvas*. The mental effects or psychical states such as stupefaction, etc., are not caused by external factors and hence they are called *sāttvikas*.

Stambho viṣṭabdha-cetanatvam iti—The mind becomes overpowered by joy, etc., and hence it does not move out to join the sense-organs, as it no longer presides over the sense-organs which are restricted only to the vague (hazy, synthetic) perception of external objects, this perception not being analytical (*vikalpaparyantatāgamana-rahita*). For example.

" Thereafter even their natural agility vanished, like the flare of lamps depicted in pictures, while their lustre faded, the flame of their eyes ceased to stir, and their courage ebbed away ".

(—*Setubandha* II.45 as translated by K. K. Handiqui)

Similarly the following stanza is an example of tears (*bāṣpa*) caused by the infusion of *tejas* (heat) into the water-dominated element of the vital force.

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" Put a check on (restrain or stop) your continuously flowing (gushing) tears by resorting to mental firmness. On this way, where you are not able to notice its ups and downs, your foot-steps are being placed unevenly by you ".

Tīvrātīvratveneti (intensely or in a feeble manner) :

Perspiration due to the infusion (of *tejas*) into the water-dominated element of the vital force is exemplified in the following stanza :

" When in the course of gambling (with dice) for amusement (or diversion) her embrace was first won (as a wager) by her dear consort, and then, thereafter, the charming (delightful offering of the lower lip (for being kissed) was won by her dear consort as a wager), he again inquired of his beloved about the (next) wager to be put forward by her, she silently stretched out (extended) her perspiring hand in order to throw (cast) the dice (*sāra-visāraṇāya = akṣa-utkṣepaṇāya*), while her cheeks began to throb (quiver) because of the outburst of passion accumulated in her (mind) but held in check with a suppressed (inchoate) smile (*sāntarhāsa*) ".

But when the water-dominated part of the vital force is penetrated by *tejas* in a feeble manner, there results paleness of the body (physical paleness or loss of colour), as in the following stanza :

" As that princess (Indumatī) seeking to choose a consort for herself (from among the assembled kings) (simply) passing by the various kings successively (without fixing her choice on any one of them) each of them became pale (lost colour) just as when a flame (torch) passing successively in front of the mansions on the principal street in a city, each mansion became pale (and plunged in gloom) ".

—*Raghu* VI. 67.

Pralaya iti : Fainting (loss of consciousness) means the complete (*prakarṣeṇa*) absorption (or dissolution) of the faculties of the sense-organs into the vital force. For example :

Because of the swoon resulting from the severe impact (of the fire from Śiva's frontal eye) which blocked up (arrested) the functioning of her sense-organs, Rati did not comprehend the nature and extent of the catastrophy that had overtaken her husband and because of this (ignorance on her part) a real favour was as it were done to her.

—*Kumārasambhava* IV. 73.

'*Tasya*' means '*prāṇasya*'. (The infusion of) the vital force (by the mind element). '*Manda*' *iti.* When the vital force becomes infused with slow-moving air, horripilation is the result. For example :

" When my face was turned to his face, I turned my face down, and directed my glance at his feet; I closed my ears which were very eager to hear his speech;

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I concealed with my hands the perspiration on my cheeks breaking forth with horripilation. But, O my friends, what could I do when the seams of my bodice began to burst in a hundred places ?

—*Amaruśataka*, V. 11.

When the vital force is infused with air which is neither very slow-moving nor very fast-moving (but midway between the two) there is tremor (trembling or quivering of the body). For example :

" Be not puffed up with pride because your cheek is shining with the design of a blossom-spray painted thereon by your consort with his own hand. Cannot, O my friend, other women too have similar designs (painted on their cheeks by their husbands themselves) if it were not for the fact that tremor of their cheeks posed an insurmountable obstacle ? "

When the vital force is infused with very swift-moving air, faltering (or stammering) of the voice (choking of the voice) is the result (takes place). For example :

When Kṛṣṇa (the enemy of the demon Madhu) left for Dvārakā, Rādhā embracing the tender branch (*latā*) of the Vañjula tree (Aśoka tree), bent down because of his jumping down from it (in the river Yamunā flowing near it) sang with such deep longing, her song turning into a loud wail and her throat so choked with profuse tears that the ducks swimming in the water began to cry plaintively (in sympathy) "

—First cited in the *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* I. 4.

p. 147, ll 1-3 : The final position is this : The external *sāttvikabhāvas* such as stupefaction, etc., are physical attributes and they operate as *anubhāvas* suggesting the (corresponding) internal *sāttvikabhāvas*; and in reality they (ultimately) suggest psychic states such as love, world-weariness, etc.

p. 147, ll 23-25 : Because these *sāttvika-bhāvas* occur in connection with each one of the *rasas* and because they do not possess even a slight trace of independence (autonomy) not even like the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* on the analogy of a king's servant engaged in his own marriage ceremony who is followed by the king (at the time of the marriage procession; i.e., in relation to his own servant the king occupies, for the time being, a position subordinate to that of his own servant.) and because examples of the *sāttvika-bhāvas* are easily available (in literature) they have not been cited in the *Vṛtti* (viz., *Alaṁkāra Cūḍāmaṇi*).

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ŚETARAÑJARAṄGA OF DEVAŚAṄKARA VYĀSA OF BARODA

By

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Sanskrit literature abounds in the descriptions of the indoor-games such as *Buddhibala* or *Caturaṅga* alias *Śatarañja* (Chess), *Dyūta* and Gañjiphā (Playing Cards). There are, however, very few works describing these games that have been published so far. In fact, this field of research is much unexplored and consequently, less tapped. Here is an attempt to *publish for the first time* a work that was composed towards the end of the seventeenth century. This rare work was composed by a scholar from Baroda. Interestingly, only five copies of this work could be traced till now. Strangely enough, its complete text is available only at Bombay in Maharashtra, while, in Gujarat—the place from where the author hails—we get only incomplete manuscripts of this work.

The title of this work is *Śetarañjaraṅga*. It was composed in Śaka 1607, on Thursday, Pauṣa Śuddha Navamī, in the constellation of Aśvinī, with Siddha-yoga and Kaulavakaraṇa. The author—Devaśaṅkara Vyāsa—was a Gujarati Audicya Brahmin, belonging to the beautiful Vaṭapadraka or morden Vadodara (Baroda) in the Gurjaradeśa, i.e. Gujarat. These details are given by the author himself in the last two verses of this work. Our author was the son of Harikṛṣṇa Vyāsa.

This work in thirty-seven verses seems to be a discourse given by a *rasika* lover to his beloved, as is very clear and evident from the very beautiful and appealing vocatives/epithets used for his sweet-heart. These are printed in bold types in the text. I may mention a few for the sheer joy of the *sahṛdayas* : *Suratacature* (vs. 3), *Cāmīkaragirikuce* (vs. 15), *Śrīmadrākāyāminīśopamāsye* (vs. 18), *Khañjanakṣobhinetre* (vs. 27) etc. We are reminded of the great scholar Bhāskarācārya—who also has shown his *rasikatva* while composing the *Līlāvatī*—a book on the so—supposed dull and uninspiring subject of Mathematics. Here also, our author shows his class of a real *rasika* while composing a work on a challenging game of Chess—the King of Games—which is rightly termed as a game where intellectual talent, reason and sharpness of wit and mind is a prerequisite (*Buddhibala*).

This work is meant for describing the rules for the movement of the chess-pieces. The description starts with the arrangement of the chess-men/army/on

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the chess-board. In the fourth verse, the author accounts for the currency-use of Prakrit words in the Sanskrit text by saying that this is an *Āsura* game. Hence, Prakrit words are employed in it. Similarly, the Urdu/Persian words like *Rejabājī* (vs. 22), *Darājabājī* (vs. 20) etc. imply that our author was conversant with these non-Sanskrit words which might have effected their entry into this game, due to the rapport with the Muslim scholars. Then the author describes various ways of checks, check-mates and other important matters, connected with this game. A speciality of this work that strikes us is : it contains two diagrams drawn to explain the movements of the horse, described in verses 28-30. There are a few mistakes in the placement of the horse in the houses which are explained at the proper places.

As is already pointed out, this work composed in Baroda is intact at Bombay and its incomplete manuscripts are available in Gujarat at places such as Ahmedabad, Baroda and Nadiad. Their details are given under for the benefit of the interested scholars.

Manuscripts Material : Only four Mss. of this work could be utilized. The fifth one, deposited at the A. S. Dahilaxmi Library, Nadiad, Dist. Kaira, Guj. could not even be seen, even though the present scholar visited Nadiad on more than ten occasions. Hence, except its number from the register, no further information can be supplied.

The Mss. are named after the Institutes wherein they are deposited. Their details are as under :

(1) Bombay University Library Ms. Acc. No. 2318, designated as B.

Śetarañjaraṅga of Devaśaṅkara Harikṛṣṇa Vyāsa.

This Ms. has six folios. The work starts on f. 1b and ends on f. 6b. Fol. no 1a has some stray verses--a quotation from some work on Āyurveda. The Ms. does not seem to be very neatly and meticulously written/copied down, as is evident from certain corrupt readings. It is just possible that the copyist knew very little of the game of chess. Or, he must have copied it from some other corruptly written manuscript. There are a number of instances wherein i is written for ī and vice versa. Such lapses are silently corrected in the text.

The author of this work seems to be much influenced by Urdu/Persian words, hence, many Persian words are used in the work, giving rise to doutful spellings at certain places-leading naturally to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of certain words. This is the only, complete Ms. available to us till this date. It is composed in Śaka 1607 (1686 AD), as is evident from the last verse. The age of the Ms. as recorded in the colophon is Śaka 1650 (1729 AD). Since, this is the oldest dated Ms., it is given preference and accepted as a vulgate.

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This Ms. is written on a coarse yellowish paper. The Devanāgarī characters are fair. Every page has 10-11 lines and every line contains 23 letters. It was copied down in Śaka 1650 by one Rāmacandra. The size of the Ms. is : $6\frac{3}{4}/4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

(2) Dahilaxmi Library, Nadiad. Ms. No. 18.10. Designated as D.

It contains only four folios. Its date is V. S. 1767.

It is my misfortune that despite ten trips to this Library, I could not even see this ms. as it is reported missing. So, no definite information can be given about its contents, its similarity or otherwise with the Bombay Uni. Ms. etc.

(3) L. D. Instiute of Indology, Ahmedabad. Ms. No. 7993. Designated as L.

This paper ms. has only two folios. Every page has 13 lines and every line contains 36 letters. Its date is C.V.S. 1850. The size of this good ms. is 28.4 × 14.8 cms.

This ms. is very corrupt. It seems to be copied down from a source different from that of the B.Ms. It is not complete in the sense that it contains only 34 verses. It, however, has some additional matter in Gujarati towards the end. The ms. is not dated, but, seems to be belonging to the last century.

(4) Oriental Institute, Baroda. Ms. No. 4557. F. 6. Grs. 80 V. S. 1803. Size : 21.3 × 11.7 cms. Designated as 01.

Like the L. Ms., this ms. also ends with the 34th verse. There is very much similarity in the readings of this ms. and the L. Ms. and seem to be copied from one and the same source. This ms. of 6 folios has 8 lines per page and 19-20 letters per line. The writing is not very good and some corrupt readings create some problems.

(5) Oriental Institue, Baroda. Ms. No. 23245. F. 2. Grs. 35. V.S. 1926. 02.

This nicely written ms. has the title *Śetarañjakhelanakramavivecanapaṭṭikā* and the author's name given as Kālidāsa. This Kālidāsa seems to be a very recent/late poet.

The ms. abruptly ends after vs. no. 20. It has, however, some additional verses, suggesting thereby a third and different source. The ms. has only two folios, each page having 12 lines and each line having 38-40 letters. The ms. has hardly any corrupt reading and the writing also poses no problems.

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[1]श्रीवासुदेवाय नमः ॥

ऊर्ध्वं रेखानवकल[2]**मबले** तिर्यगेता विधेया
एवं कोष्टान् युगरस[= ६४]मितान् शेतर[3]ञ्जार्थमेव ।
भूपद्वन्द्वं सचिवयुगलं वारणाऽश्वोष्ट्रकाणां
तुर्यं[4] तुर्यं **कमळनयने** पत्तयः षोडशैव ॥ १ ॥

तत्रत्यानां स्थलमिभहयोष्ट्रप्रधानप्रभूणां
वक्षे([5]क्ष्ये) **बाळे** पदगतिगणस्यापि युद्धं गतिं च ।
नागान् कोणेष्वु[6]पगजमथाश्वान् समीपे तु तेषाम्
उ[7]ष्ट्रान् **कान्ते** सचिवनृपतीन् पङ्क्तिमध्ये कुरुष्व ॥ २ ॥

[8]सर्वेषां भोः **सुरत**[9]**चतुरे** पत्ति[10]मेकैकमग्रे
कृत्वा पङ्क्तिद्वय[11]**मिभगते** प्रान्तभूमौ विधेहि ।
मध्ये कोष्ठान् [12]रद[= ३२]परिमितान् **रम्यरूपे** विहाय
प्राणे[13] पङ्क्तिद्वयमपि परं सन्मुखं सन्नि[14]धेहि ॥ ३ ॥

दृष्टिर्भूपे यस्य कस्यापि किस्तिः सा[15] तां(स्यात्तां)केऽन्ये शः[= शहः] समुच्चारयन्ति ।
खेलो[16]ऽयं स्यादासुरो **दिव्यदक्षे**[17] तस्मादत्र प्राकृताः सन्ति शब्दाः ॥ ४ ॥

पश्चा[18]द्गामी न भवति पुरो गेहमेकं समीयात्
कोणे हन्यात् पदगतिरारिं किस्तिमात्रं नृपाय ।
अश्वः सार्द्धद्वयपदगतिः हन्ति शत्रून् पदस्थान् ।
भूपे किस्तिं रचयति चतुःषष्टिकोष्टेषु गच्छेत् ॥ ५ ॥

कोणे कोणे[19]ऽष्टसदनगतिश्चेन्न मार्गोप[20]रोधो
हन्यान्मार्गस्थितमपि [21]करः किस्तिमीशे तनोति ।

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१ L श्रीगणेशाय नमः । अथ शेतरञ्जरमवानो विधि लिख्यते ।; O1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः । अथ श्रीशेतरञ्जग्रन्थ लिख्यते ।; O2 श्रीगणेशाय नमः । अथ शेतरञ्जखेलनक्रमः । २ O2. नवपरिमिताः । ३ L. °रङ्गा°; O2 शेतरञ्जे प्रकुर्यात् । ४ O2 यौग्यं यौग्यं । ५ O2 वक्ष्येऽहं ते । ६ L. O1 °ष्वप; O2 नागौ कोष्ठ्योरुपगजमथाश्वौ...तथोष्ट्रौ । ७ O2 मध्ये मन्त्रिनृपतिवरावब्धिजास्ये । ८ B सर्वे तेषां । ९ O1 सुरचनचतुरे । १० O2 पत्तिरे° । ११ O1 °ष्वमिव° । १२ L. दरप°; O1 दशनप°; O2 पदप° । १३ O2 प्रान्ते । १४ O2 स्यात्तथैव । १५ L. सां तां केत्ये; O1 सां त्यां केत्ये; O2 सातामन्ये । १६ L O1, O2 खेलो यस्मादासुरो । १७ O2 °दृष्टे । १८ O पश्चात्तिर्यक् न सरति पुरो गेहमेकं प्रयायात् रोधाभावे पदगतिरारिं हन्ति कोष्ठ्योर्दद्यच्छः । १९ L. कोणोष्ट्र ; O1 कोण्युष्ट्र । २० L, O1, O2 मार्गावरोधो । २१ O2 करिः ।

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दन्ती[२२] दन्तिप्रमितभवनान्येति चेन्नोऽन्तरायः
तिर्यक् पश्चादभिमुखमरिं हन्ति किस्तिं करोति ॥ ६ ॥

आशा[२३]तुर्ये व्रजति सचिवः कोण[२४]तुर्येऽपि गेहान्
अष्टौ [२५]मार्गं गतमरिगणं हन्ति किस्तिं दधाति ।
किस्तेः पूर्वं क्षितिपतिगतिर्वाजिवच्चैकवारं
पश्चादेकं पदमनुसरेत्स्वासनादासमन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥

[२६]किस्तौ सत्यां व्रजति न परः किस्तिमध्ये न भूपः
[२७]सर्वे सर्वानपि [२८]बलमतो निर्बलं हन्ति भूपः ।
साहायत्वं निजबलजने कार्यमादौ कथञ्चित्
तस्मा[२९]न्नो चेत् **प्रियसखि** परो हन्यतां तूर्णमेव ॥ ८ ॥

स्थानं क्षेमं सैनिकानां विलोक्य स्वे[३०]षां पश्चाद्युद्धमिच्छेत् परेण ।
किस्तेर्मध्ये पूरणार्थं प्रदत्तो यः कश्चिद्घातस्य यत्नो विधेयः ॥ ९ ॥

[३१]दृष्टेर्मध्ये माहतिश्चेत् समीपे कस्मात् हन्यात् वाहिनीं व्यर्थमेव ।
बुद्धिस्तावत् माहतौ योजनीया युद्धे बुद्धेर्योजनं व्यर्थमेव ॥ १० ॥

पत्तेः किस्तिः वाजिनश्चापि घाता[३२]त् नश्येत् किं वा भूपतेश्चालनेन ।
साचिव्यौष्ट्री वारणीयाऽपि किस्तिः जन्यो[३३]त्स्थानापूरणैर्नाशमेति ॥ ११ ॥

किस्तौ सत्यां भूपतेश्चेन्न मार्गः क्रीडाकारामाहतिं तां वदन्ति ।
युद्धे सर्वं सैन्यमापादितं [३४]चेत्तां दिव्यन्तो बुर्दमाभाषयन्ति ॥ १२ ॥

एकः [३५]पत्तिश्चेत्तदा माहतिः सा पूर्वं हन्यात्तस्य बुर्दः परस्मिन् ।
[३६]राज्ञः सेनायाश्च चेन्नो गतिः सा जिच्चिः तस्यां ग्राह्यमेकं परस्याः ॥ १३ ॥

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२२ L. O1 हन्ति । २३ O2 दिक्चातुष्के । २४ O2 कोणवर्त्येऽपि । २५ O2 रोधे मति रिपुगणम् । २६ O2 inserts the following two verses before this verse: उष्ट्रो हस्ती प्रधानो नागगेहान्निगच्छति । यावज्जिगमिषुरोधो नो चेदाहुर्विचक्षणाः ॥ ८ ॥ अकिस्तिर्भूपतिः नूनमासनात्सकृदश्वगः । पश्चादेकं पदं गच्छेदासमन्तात्स्वभावतः ॥ ९ ॥ २७ O2 वीशावीशानबलबलिनो घ्नन्ति भूपो सहायान् । २८ L, O1 बलवतो । २९ O2 नो चेत् हन्युः प्रियसखि पारास्तूर्णमेव स्वकीयान् । ३० O1 स्वस्थां; O2 स्वानां । ३१ O2 दृष्ट्वा भूपे । ३२ O2 किस्तिः घातान्नश्येत् भू° । ३३ O1 जिनश्चापि घातजन्योस्थानापूर्णम् ; O2 घातोत्थनापू० । ३४ L चेतां दिव्यन्तोर्ध्वमा° ; O1 चेत्तां दिव्यं नोर्बुदं भाषयन्ति; O2 चेत्तं दिव्यांसे बुर्दमाभा° । ३५ O1 पाक्षतिमेश्चेतादा ; O2 त्तिश्चेदसौ; ३६ L वाहिन्या वा भूपतेर्ना रतिः सा; O1 वाहन्या वा भूपतेर्नोरितः सा; O2 वाहिन्या वा भूपतेर्नो गतिः सा ।

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यस्य स्थानं पत्तिराप्नोति गच्छंस्तत्र स्वीयः स्थापनीयः स एव ।
मन्त्री मन्त्रीशस्थलोपेतपत्तिः हन्ता नो चेदुत्पतेदेक एव ॥ १४ ॥

[३७]हस्ती वाऽश्वः **प्रियसखि** करो नो तृतीयः कदाचित्
मन्त्री **चामीकरगिरिकुचे** न द्वितीयः कदापि ।
यत्रोपेतः पदगतिरहो वारणादित्वमेति
[३८]स्वीये तस्मिन् विलसति परं तत्पदस्थं न हन्यात् ॥ १५ ॥

हत्वा किञ्चिन्माहतिर्या भवेत्सा माराख्यैव **प्रोज्ज्वलत्तारहारे** ।
उत्स्थाने या माहतिर्मध्यगस्य सा विज्ञेया कूज[३९]रूपा **सुरूपे** ॥ १६ ॥

दीर्घे पत्तेर्माहतिः स्यान्निकृष्टा ह्रस्वे चौष्ट्री माहतिः दुष्करैव ।
साचिव्यैभी तौरगी माहतिर्या सा विज्ञेया हीनरूपा क्रमेण ॥ १७ ॥

किञ्चित्कर्तुं नैव शक्नोति कश्चित् सेनाशेषे माहतिं वाऽथ बुर्दम् ।
[४०]**श्रीमद्राकायामिनीशोपमास्ये** धीमन्तस्तां कायमां व्याहरन्ति ॥ १८ ॥

यस्य [४१]स्पर्शः स्यात्तदेव प्रचाल्यं **बाळे** सा स्यादस्तमोहेति नीतिः ।
यत्र न्यस्तं यत्तु तत्रैव तत्स्यात् नीति**र्दक्षे**[४२] सा नु खानापुरेति ॥ १९ ॥

नीतिद्वन्द्वं यत्र पूर्वं प्रयुक्तं सा संज्ञा स्यात् हस्तखानापुरेति ।
नीतिः पूर्वं खेलनादुत्तमैव नीतिर्नो चेद्बाधकं नैव किञ्चित् ॥ २० ॥

[४३]**इति दराजवाजी** ॥

एतद्दीर्घे ह्रस्वमध्ये तु मन्त्री कोणे हन्यादेक[४४]मेवैति कोणे ।
उल्लङ्घ्योऽष्टो मध्यगं मन्दगामी त्रीणि प्रायात् स्वासनान्मन्दिराणि ॥ २१ ॥

अन्यस्थानं पत्तिभिर्लभ्यते चेत् सर्वेऽप्या[४५]र्ये मन्त्रिणः सम्भवन्ति ।
युद्धं किस्तिः माहतिः बुर्दरीतिः सर्वं **दक्षे** पूर्ववद्भावनीयम् ॥ २२ ॥

इति रेजबाजी ॥

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३७ L. O1 हस्तिवाध्व सुमुखी करभो । ३८ O1 स्वीते तस्मिन्...न स्यात् ; O2 विलसितमरिं चारुनेत्रे । ३९ O2 कुज्ब° ; ४० O2 श्रीभद्राङ्के या° । ४१ O2 यस्माच्छः स्यात्तत्त° । ४२ L, O1, O2. नीतिर्बाले सा तु° । ४३ O2 omits this & concludes the ms. with the following : पश्चाद्दिक्कोणतिर्यक् नो गच्छेदेगतिः सदा । पुरोरुर्ध्वं पदं यायात् कोट्योर्हन्ता च किस्तिकृत् ॥ २४ ॥ इति श्रीकालिदासेन कृता शेतरंजपट्टिका जयो भूयाद्बुद्धिबलैःखेलतां राजमूर्तिकम् ॥ २५ ॥ श्री । इति श्रीकालिदासकविविरचिता शेतरंजखेलनकमविवेचनपट्टिका समाप्ता । संवत् १९२६ ना पोष व. नवम्याम् । ४४ L O1 °नेवै° । ४५ L. O1 ये ये ।

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एकत्रैको मत्त[46]शाहः स्वयं स्यादन्यत्रैका वाहिनी सर्वपूर्णा ।
सर्वान् हन्यात् सर्वगत्या स एकः किस्ति दद्यात् माहतिं संतनोति ॥ २३ ॥

बुद्धिं कुर्यात् मत्तशाहेऽथ तस्मिन् सेना किस्ति माहतिं वै करोति ।
सेनास्थाने यादृशी चालनीया तादृश्येवोन्मत्तशाहं विजेतुम् ॥ २४ ॥

इति उन्मत्तपातशाहबाजी ॥

आशान्तेषु सभूपसैनिकजनाः स्थाप्यो[47]पकोणं गजान्
व्याघ्राख्याः करिणः परेऽखिलजनाश्छागाभिधानाः **प्रिये** ।
यस्योल्लङ्घनमाचरेत् करिवरः संपा[48]तितो सावजः
ते कोणेषु गजा[49] आ(अ)जाभिरनिशं बध्या **विनोदप्रिये** ॥ २५ ॥

रचयति न कदापि युग्महिंसां **गजगमने** न गजोऽपि गच्छतीह ।
प्रियसखि बक[50]रीगणः समन्तादटति हि केवलमे[51]मेव गृहम् ॥ २६ ॥

इति व्याघ्रछागबाजी ॥

एकः तौ मन्त्रिभूपौ परत्र प्रायो **बाळे** भूमिपालप्रधानौ ।
बुद्धौ न स्यात् **खञ्जनक्षोभिनेत्रे** किस्ति दद्यान्माहतिर्यस्य कस्य[52] ॥ २७ ॥

[53]**इति राजाप्रधानबाजी ॥**

[54]**अथाश्वचालनप्रकारः—**

एका १ ष्टादश १८ वारणाश्वि २८ गुणभू १३ रामा ३ श्व[55] गो ९ केन्दवः १९
तत्त्वा २५ क्षाग्नि ३५ खबाण ५० निर्जर ३३ भ[56] २७ दिक् १० वेदाश्च ४ मूर्छाः २१ तथा ।
अङ्गा[57]ग्नि ३६ त्रिशरा ५३ ग्न्यरि ६३ द्विपयुगें ४८ द्वग्नीं ३२ द्र १४ सर्पाः ८ **प्रिये** ।
बाळे त्र्यश्वि २३ रसा ६ नृपा १६ कृति २२ नगा ७ वेदाश्वि २४ गोपावकाः ३९ ॥ २८ ॥

कान्ते पञ्चयुगानि ४५ षष्टि ६० चतुरे वेदाक्ष ४६ वेदारयः ६४
भू[58]भूद्वेद ४७ [59]धराधराग्नि ३७ करप[60]श्च ५२ दृव्यङ्ग ६२ तर्केषवः ५६ ।

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४६ L. O1 use पत्तशाह for मत्तशाह throughout the text. ४७ O1 omits from °पकोणं upto यस्यो° । ४८ B. marginal gloss संपातितो नाम हतः । ४९ L. O1 गजाभियानरनिशम् । ५० L. O1 कवरी° । ५१ L. °मेव गेहमेतत् ; O1 °मेव गेहगेहे । ५२ L O1 कस्मात । ५३ O1 omits this. ५४ L. O1 omit this; ५५ L. O1 °श्वि२; ५६ O1 omits; ५७ L. O1 तर्काग्नि; ५८ L. omits from भूभूद्वेद upto अत्यष्ट १७ in the next verse । ५९ O1 नगाग्नयः ३७ । ६० O1 करशराः ५२ ।

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षड्वेदा ४६ खयुगा ४० भ्रवह्नि ३० तिथयो १५ दन्ताः ३२ च दन्त्यग्नयः ३८
पत्रीपञ्च ५५ निशाकरारि ६१ युगवेदा ४४ गोऽग्नि २९ सूर्याः १२ करौ २ ॥ २९ ॥

अत्यष्टय १७ ब्धिगुणा ३४ निशापतिशराः ५१ सप्तेषु ५७ युग्माब्धयः ४२
गोऽक्षा ५९ गोयुग ४९ वह्नि[६१]वेदाः ४३ फणिपञ्च ५८ क्षोणिवेदाः ४१ तथा ।
तर्काक्षीणि २६ नखाः २० च पञ्च ५ भव ११ सङ्ख्या भो **प्रवालाधरे**
चातुर्येण विचा[६२]लितोऽतिचतुरो वाजी सुखं खेलतु ॥ ३० ॥

सर्वेषु कोष्टेषु **विनोददक्षे** त्वया विलेख्याः प्रथमादयोऽङ्काः ।
मद्भा[६३]षिताङ्केषु विचालनेन क्रमेण सर्वत्रगतिस्तुरङ्गः ॥ ३१ ॥

[६४]**इति चतुःषष्टिकोष्टेषु तुरङ्गचालनप्रकारः ।**

अ[६५]थान्यः प्रकारः—

हरिणाक्षि तुरगस्य स्थि[६६]तयेऽखिलवेश्मसु ।
कुरुते घटनां देवः श्रीमज्जनविनोदिनी[म्] ॥ ३२ ॥

वि[६७]खिरीकु दिवे स्यन्दे रंसुनांगवमंछतः ।
येहरूनलणास्थीते श्रीनोश्मनीं जतक्षित ॥ ३३ ॥

लेखनं प्रथमस्यैव स्व[६८]स्तं व्यस्तं पुनर्लिले(खे)त् ।
चालनं द्विती[६९]येनैव चतुःषष्टिपदैर्हयः ॥ ३४ ॥[७०]

इति चतुःषष्टिपदेषु तुरङ्गचालनप्रकारः ।

स जयति कविपादभक्तिसङ्गः शशिवदनाधरदत्तचित्तरङ्गः ।
उपगतगुरुनाथदत्तरङ्गः प्रभवति यत्कृते **शेतरञ्जरङ्गः** ॥ ३५ ॥

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६१ B. is blank here । ६२ O1 विलिखितो° । ६३ L. O1 सद्भाषिताङ्के प्रविचालनेन । ६४ B. omits this line । ६५ L. O1 omit this; ६६ L. O1 स्थीयते । ६७ L. O1 विलिखुराकुदिवेर सूर्यनांगवमच्छतु । येहरूनलक्षणास्थि श्रीनोश्मनीं नतक्षिरः॥ ६८ L. तस्य; O1 not clear due to overwriting । ६९ L. O1 चैव । ७० L. O1 add शेतरंजशद्ध इति कोऽपि जनाः कथयति सख्याः तदमेव परं वह शेतरंज इति यत् कथितं निजदेशभाषणबलाबले । L. concludes with the following : इति शेतरंजादि बाजीग्रन्थः समाप्तः । अथ शेतरंगदोहा लखो छे-विच राज मंत्रिनिकट सुतरधरे दोउ पास खुणे पर दो गजधरे विचमा तुरंगनी पास, आग सब प्यादा धरे एणि मेरे फोज रचनाय चतुरनर बुद्धिबळे बाजि खेळे महात् । लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भवतु ॥ O1 has the calophon-इति शेतरंजयुतग्रन्थः समाप्तः । शाके १८०३ आ. कृ. ५ शनीवार ॥

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श्रीमद्देवगुरोः प्रसादलहरीलेशप्रभावादयं
लब्ध्वा सत्कविसेवकत्वगणनां देवेति नामा कविः ।
श्रीमद्गौर्जरदेशरम्यवटपद्रारस्य वासी पुर-
स्यैनं बुद्धिमतां कृते शुभजनस्थाने मुदाऽचीकरत् ॥ ३६ ॥

शाके भूधरपूर्णभूपतिमिते भानौ गते दक्षिणां
हेमन्ते सितपौषमासनवमी जीवेऽश्विनीनाम्नि मे ।
सिद्धौ योगवरेऽथ कौलवशुभे कर्णे(करणे)सुवर्णप्रभे
स्वौदीच्यान्वयगौर्जरः प्रविल[स]त्प्रोद्दामपद्यैः व्यधात् ॥ ३७ ॥

इति व्यासहरिकृष्णात्मज व्यासदेवशङ्करविरचितः शेतरञ्जरङ्गः ॥
शके १६५० कीलकनामसंवत्सरे आश्विनशुद्ध १२ गुरुवारे
रामचन्द्रेणेदं पुस्तकं लिखितम् ॥

Movement of the Horse in Śetarañjaraṅga Verses 28-30

ह	रि	णा	क्षि	तु	र	ग	स्य
स्थि	त	ये	खि	ल	वे	श्म	सु
कु	रु	ते	घ	ट	नां	दे	वः
श्री	म	ज्ज	न	वि	नो	दि	नीं
नीं	दि	नो	वि	न	ज्ज	म	श्री
वः	दे	नां	ट	घ	ते	रु	कु
सु	श्म	वे	ल	खि	ये	त	स्थि
स्य	ग	रं	तु	क्षि	णां	रि	ह

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1	50	5	14	63	24	27	22
6	13	64	49	4	21	42	25
51	2	7	62	15	26	23	28
8	61	12	3	48	41	20	43
11	52	9	16	35	44	29	40
60	55	58	47	30	39	34	19
57	10	53	36	17	32	45	38
54	59	56	31	46	37	18	33

This chart explains the movement of the horse described in vs. nos. 28 to 30. In the chart given at the end of the ms. 4 mistakes have been detected. They are rectified in this chart. The mistakes were: In the 17th house, the ms. gives the no. 58 instead of 51; in the 19th house, the no. given is 60 instead of 7. In the 33th house, the no. given is 17 instead of 11 & in the 39th house, the no. given is 39 instead of 29. One interesting point : At two places, viz. 23 and 40, the no. of the house is the same as the no. in the text.

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PRABHĀSA PĀṬAṆA ALSO A HOLY HOME OF GUJARATI POETRY

By

KESHAVRAM K. SHASTREE*

It is a strange thing that even at the time of the beginning of the medieaval Gujarati Poetry, like Junāgadh, where the Ādi-Kavi of Gujarat—Narasiṁha Mehto had already finished his mission for fulfiling the Gujarati literature with his most charming and beautiful songs—rather lyrical, Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa, the holy land of Somanātha, was able to give two Vaishnavite Gujarati poets, Bhīma and Keśava Hṛderāma by name, who contributed rather narrative poems. It was said and also believed that the former was influenced by the famous medieaval Gujarati poet, Bhālaṇa of Gujarāt—Pāṭaṇa,[1] and contributed one of his poems, *Harilīlā—Ṣoḍaśa-Kalā* through the grace of his preceptor—mahā ṛṣi—whose name was not given by him.[2] No historical evidence helps us to prove that Bhīma was Bhālaṇa's pupil; it is also very difficult to prove that Bhālaṇa was a predecessor of Bhīma, or even a contemporary. The language used by Bhālaṇa in composing five *padas*[3] of his own in his famous Gujarati bulky work, *Daśama-skandha* in Vraja-bhāṣā possibly influenced by wellknown Vaishnav poet Sūradāsa and other Vrajā-bhākhā poets of the sixteenth century A.D., which helps us in fixing the time of Bhālaṇa, he being the successor and not the predecessor of Bhīma.[4] Bhīma's time is quite definite. He completed his *Harilīlā-ṣoḍaśa-kalā* in V.S. 1541—(i.e. 1485 A.D.)[5] and his *Prabodha-prakāṣa* in V.S. 1546—(i.e. 1490 A.D.),[6] the former in Siddhapura-Pāṭaṇa and the latter in Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇa.

It is very difficult to prove that Bhīma was an inhabitant of either of these two places. Though he completed his H.Ṣ.K. at Siddhapura-Pāṭaṇa[7] and recited

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* Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

1 Vide my *Kavicarita* also : p. 125.

2 वलतूं वचन महारषि कहइ: "एकथा अधविचि नवि रहइ" H.Ṣ.K. p. 14

3 Vide *Daśama-skandha-padas* 77, 251, 253 etc.

4 Vide my article presented in the session of the Oriental Conference held in Bombay, two years back.

5 "संवत पंदर रुद्रनी वीस वरस ऊपरि एक च्यालीस. ८" H.Ṣ.K. p. 213

6 "संवत पंदर रुद्रनी वीस षट आगलां वरस च्यालीस. ७२"
Prabhodha-prakāśa, (Act 6th)

7 Vide H.Ṣ.K. p. 213 :
"सिद्धिक्षेत्र माधव सरस्वती" etc.

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the same before the Vaishnavite followers at the same place, his attachment was rather fast in Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇa, where he was living at the place of Narasiṁha Vyās, and there he completed his metrical translation—*Prabodha-prakāśa*[8] of the famous Sanskrit drama *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Śeṣa-Kṛṣṇa.

It is clear in his P.P. that he had much regard for one Puruṣottama—well-versed in Vedānta, and by the grace of Narasiṁha Vyāsa he summarised that famous drama giving the title-*Prabodha-prakāśa*.[9] It is quite clear that Bhīma devoted his more time in Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇa—the second Kailāśa on the world,[10] the holy abode of Srī Someśvara of His Own and the place par excellance among all the holy places of the world.

His H.Ṣ.K. is a narrative poem giving independently the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* following the famous *Hari-līlāmṛta* of Bopadeva.[11] In the midst of his narration he, at some places, gives lyrical *pada*s, in order to make the work more attractive. He has showed his ability in describing *Rāsa*-dance in H.Ṣ.K. Here he is being influenced by Līlā-śuka, author of *Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta*.[12]

It is very clear that at that time Saurashtra was fully influenced by Vaishnavite thoughts. We know that India is famous for its four Hari-Viṣṇu Gods in four directions : Jagannāthajī at Puri in Orissa, Badarī-nārāyaṇa in the Himālayas, Viṭṭhala at Pandharpur in Deccan, and Raṇachoḍarāya at Dwārakā in Saurashtra. It should be noted that Junāgaḍh was famous-being the residence of Fifth Hari-Viṣṇu-Dāmodara,[13] and was honoured in the same manner as in those four places. Narasiṁha Mehto, the first poet of Gujarat sang most of his lyrical songs in Junāgaḍh in the second half of the fifteenth century A.D. It is

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8 ' तीरथतिलक क्षेत्र प्रभास, त्यां वसइ द्विज नरसिंह व्यास, ते धरि सेवक वैष्णवदास कीधु एक प्रबोधप्रकाश. ७४ '' Pr. P. (Act. 6th)

9 श्रीमन्नारायणं देवं व्यासं गणपतिं गिरम् ।
पुरुषोत्तममानम्य विप्रं वेदान्तपारगम् ।
प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयस्याहं यथाबुद्धि विवेचनम् ।
श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादेन करिष्ये नातिविस्तरम् ॥ (Ibid. Act. 1st)

10 " श्रीसोमेश्वर निज आवास, भुवि मांहि बीजु कैलास. ७३ " (Ibid. Act. 6th)

11 " पंडित बोपदेव द्विज एक कीधु हरिलीलाविवेक; तिणि आधारि मिकरी कथा, सरोवर जमलु कूउ यथा. " (H.Ṣ.K. p. 212)

12 Following the words :—
" अङ्गनामङ्गनामन्तरे माधवः "
of Līlā-śuka, the narration of Bhīma :—
" माधव अंतरि नारी, अंगना अंतरि हरि, रासक्रिडा वृंदावनि रमइ आनंद भरि. "
(H. Ṣ. K. p. 154)

13 " दामोदर हरि पंचमउ " etc. Vide समरा रासु-(प्राचीन गुर्जर काव्य संग्रह-p. 248)

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now nearly proved that he was influenced by Vārakarī Santas of Pandharpur[14] of Deccan and independently contributed his great bulk of lyrical Vaishnavite songs.

Bhīma, just like Narasiṁha Mehto, seems a Vaishnav, but it is difficult to find out his school. He has a good regard for Bopadeva,[15] a great scholar of Bhāgavata cult of Karṇāṭaka. Bopadeva, possibly, was a follower of Viṣṇu-svāmī Sampradāya, originated and flourished in Karṇāṭaka. At that time, possibly Saurashtra was under the influence of Viṣṇu-svāmī school and Bhīma a follower of the same cult;[16] and hence he, for the first time, summarised independently the *Bhagāvata Purāṇa.*

More free and more lovely was the contribution of Keśava Hṛderāma—a Vālmīka Kāyastha of Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa,[17] who composed his *Kṛṣṇa-krīḍa-kāvya* in 40 cantos, summarizing the episode of the *Bhāgavata-Daśama-skandha.* Unlike Bhīma, he has used *Vraja-bhāṣā* at some places in his poem,[18] clear by showing the influence of *Vraja-bhākhā* poets of the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. This helps us in fixing his date. Though according to the interpretation of Late A. B. Jani, his date is V. S. 1529 (i.e. 1473 A.D.), but it is doubtful. Once I accepted the same interpretation, but now it is quite clear that the interpretation was quite wrong. The real interpretation is V. S. 1592 (i.e. 1536 A.D.), i.e. in the second quarter of the sixteenth century A.D.[19]

In composing his poem he has taken advantage of other *Kṛṣṇa-Purāṇas* like *Harivaṁsa, Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa, Garga-saṁhitā, Brahma-vaivarta,* and even that charming *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva. *Bhāgavata* is quite silent about Rādhā, while Keśava treats some incidents about Rādhā in particular.

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14 Vide my article on आदिभक्तियुगनो आविष्कार in the Divaḷī-issue of the "*Gujarati.*" (weekly), 1949 A.D.

15 See foot-note no. 11.

16 Late Mr. Ambalal B. Jani was of this belief; but was not able to trace out the source.

17 "**सोरठ** देश सोहामणो, पावन **पुर प्रभास**, श्रीसोमेश्वर शारदा, अलि अंतर कैलास. ११९
वालम ज्ञाति तिहां वसे कुल केरे **कायस्त** ते मांहे रदेरामनो सेवक सेजे मस्त. १२०
तेहनो सुत हूं केशव**दास**, करुं कीर्तन श्रीकमलावास. विनय वीनती कहूं कर जोड्य,
रखे कोय कवि काडो खोड्य. १२१" (K.K.K. Canto 40th)

18 Vide Canto 14th etc.

19 "तिथि[15] संवत निधि[90] दसका [2]दोय, संवत्सर **शोभन**कृत होय etc. (Canto 40th)
wher the name of the *Saṁvatsar* is *Śobhana* which was in 1592 V.S., and not in 1529 V.S.

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In his unique poems he has tried to give lyrical songs at suitable places,[20] thus he has adopted the same method as adopted by Narasiṁha Mehto and that of the *Vraja-bhākhā* poets of Mathurā District.

He has also used the word " *Harilīlā* ", on the authority of which we can definitely say that like Bhīma he was familiar with the *Harilīlāmṛta* of Bopdeva.[21]

Bhālaṇa of Gujarāt-Pāṭaṇa, the senior contemporary of Keśava also composed *Daśama-skandha*. By comparing the work of Bhālāṇa with that of Keśava, we are in a position to say that the latter is superior to the former. The work of Keśava is full of poetic qualities, though not of the same type as it is found in other Sanskrit *Kâvyas*. Especially, in Gujarati the attempt made by him was the first for giving the aesthetic touch in a greater degree than in any other narrative poem excepting the works of Premānanda.

Unlike many other poets of Gujarat, Bhīma and Keśava—possess workable knowledge of Sanskrit just like Narasiṁha, Bhālaṇa, Premānanda and others. Keśava (as he says in his work) refers and quotes fifty seven verses from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[22] adding his own sixteen more. These are two *Stotra*s which are at the beginning of two parts of his work respectively. It was said that Vallabhācārya—the Vaiṣṇava Ācārya of that time was the author of the first one; some attributes the authorship to one of his seventh successor, Śrī Harirāyajī; but there is not a single evidence to support this belief. Keśava, himself says that those two *Stotra*s are of his own (Svayamīkṛta). Thus his statement undoubtedly removes the controvarsies about the authorship of these two *Stotra*s.

Thus it is quite clear that Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa gives two Gujarati poets within a short period of nearly fifty years, giving them the prominent places in the history of the medieaval Gujarati Literature, after Narasiṁha Mehto sang his songs at Junāgaḍh and Mangrol. At that time there was another poet, Śrīdhara, a Modha Bania, who composed *Gaurī-vivāha* and *Rāvaṇa-Mandodarī-Saṁvāda* in Junāgaḍh—the latter being composed in V.S. 1565 (i.e. 1509 A.D.).[23]

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20 Vide K.K.K. pp. 33, 35, 109 etc.

21 " मुंड सहस्र कण मूठडी सायर चंचो चंच, त्यम हूं हरिलीला कहूं सेहेजे प्राकृत संच. "
(Ibid p. 6)

22 " सत्तावन श्रीभागवत रूपक छे त्रेवीस, सोल स्वयंकृत संस्कृत, जमली कथा जगदीश. १२८ "
(Ibid. Canto 40th)

23 Vide : *Kavicarita*, pp. 192-198.

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Thus, so early as in the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. Saurashtra is really fortunate to have four typical poets-two in Junāgaḍh and two in Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa, one of which i.e. Narasiṁha Mehto's place is far superior, Keśava's was no less noteworthy. In some respect he was even superior to the famous Bhālaṇa of Gujarāt-Pāṭaṇa, and has preserved a prominent place in the History of the Medieaval Gujarati Literature giving his only and unique poem *Kṛṣṇa-krīḍā-kāvya* in different *Deśīs* and one sarga in a classical metre.[24] Bhīma, in comparison, is of ordinary value. The only thing that is noteworthy of these two poets—Bhīma and Keśava,—is their non-*Ākhyāna* style which was overrun by the famous Bhālaṇa giving a number of *Ākhyāna-Kāvyas* in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D.

24 13th canto. of K.K.K. is in *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*—metre p. 103 etc.

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લેખકોને :

૧ પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઇપ કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઇપ નકલમાં ટાઇપકામની ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગુજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨ લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ, એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩ 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઇટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખક અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪ સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫ પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખો જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વા ધ્યા ય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **રામકૃષ્ણ તુ. વ્યાસ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

લવાજમ :

—ભારતમાં...રૂા. ૨૦ = ૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—પરદેશમાં...યુનાઇટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે...૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે...પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑક્ટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું—**નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨.**

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય', પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મંદિર, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

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DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD IN THE BHAGAVATĪ ĀRĀDHANĀ†

By

JAGDISHCHANDRA JAIN*

(Abbreviations used : Ācā = Ācārāṅga; Āva = Āvaśyaka; Bhag-Ārā = Bhagavatī Ārādhanā, Muni Shrī Anantakīrti Jain Granthamālā, Bombay, V.S. 1989; Bhā = Bhāṣya; Bṛh = Bṛhatkalpa; Cū = Cūrṇi; Mahā = Mahāniśītha; Niśī = Niśītha; Paṇha = Praśnavyākaraṇa; VH = Vasudevahiṇḍi; Sū = Sūtra).

The disposal of the dead in early primitive society was rather problematic. The early man was not prepared to believe that his companion who was moving with him all the time, has ceased to be. He exposed his body on trees with the hope that he would survive and act as previously.[1]

The sub-aerial deposit or leaving the body in the open air was the earliest and the simplest method of disposing of the dead. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI. 16.2.3) has enjoined casting away of mendicants dying in a forest. The *Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* (iii. 7.1) has laid down that those who died of wounds caused by weapons, administration of poison, choking by a string, drowing in water, falling from a mountain or a tree etc. need not have any funeral, but, should be flung into water or cast away into forest. It is interesting to note that the Parsi community, a branch of the ancient Aryans, still retains the custom of exposure of their dead bodies to be devoured by carnivorous birds and beasts.

The early Jain texts throw a flood of light on the custom of leaving the dead bodies at the mercy of birds and wild animals. The *Bhag. Ārā* (*gāthā* 1994) has referred to devouring of the dead bodies of Jain monks by birds and quadrupeds (*khaga-caduppada*).[2] We are told that at the command of the king, the dead body of a monk was left in a ditch (*agaḍa*),[3] near the wall of a rampart

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† Originally read in a seminar, organised by the Mahavira Chair for Jains Studies at the Panjabi University, Patiala in October 1979.

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1 See *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iv. 5.2.13.

2 See also *Mahā*, ch. 6, p. 25, Gujarati translation in manuscript by Narsingh Bhai Patel, of W. Schubring's *Das Mahāniśītha*, Berlin, 1918. The translation was kindly lent to the author by late Muni Jinavijayaji.

3 Compare *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iii. 11) where it has been stated that the body of a *parivrājaka* should be laid in a ditch,

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(*varaṇḍaka*), a pond (*dīrghikā*), or flung into a flowing river or cast away in burning fire (*Bṛh Bhā*. 3.4824, Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, ed. Muni Chaturvijaya and Punyavijaya, Shrī Ātmānand Jain Sabhā, Bhavnagar, 1933-38). The *Niśī Sū* (11.92), a canonical text of antiquity, refers to *giddha-piṭṭha* (*gṛddhra-spṛṣṭa*), a kind of death, in which a person after applying red juice to his back, belly and other parts of the body, cast himself among the corpses of human beings, elephants, camels, donkeys, jackals etc. and allowed himself to be devoured by vultures.[4] We are told that the bodies of criminals were cast away into ditches to be devoured by wolves, dogs, jackals, *kolas* (a rat-shaped animal), cats and birds.[5]

The dead bodies were also buried underground. According to the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iii. 6.2), the abortive child should be buried. In ancient Jain literature this custom was in vogue among the tribal people (*mlecchas*), who instead of cremating their dead bodies, buried them in the house of the dead (*mataga-giha*) in their own houses (*gharabbhintare*). Such houses existed, we are told, in the country of Dīva, identified with the island of the Arab, known as '*Jazirat-al-Arab*' (see Jagdishchandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canon and Commentaries*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 367) and Joṇa (Alexandaria).[6]

Elaborate Rules for Disposing of the Dead

Early Jain texts have laid down elaborate rules for disposing of the dead bodies of Jain monks. The *Bhag. Ārā* (1974-2000), *Āva Niryukti* (II, 94-130, pp. 71a-76, *Niryukti-Dīpikā* by Māṇikyaśekhara Sūri, Surat, 1939), *Bṛh Sū* (4.29) and *Bhā* (4.5497-5565), *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* (7.442-46); with Niryukti, Bhāṣya and the commentary of Malayagiri, edited by Muni Manek, Bhavnagar, (1926-28), *Āva Cū* (II, pp. 102-109; by Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, Ratlam, 1928; commentary by Haribhadra, Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1916) and the *Āva* commentary by

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4 See also *Cū*, 11.3806, by Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, ed. Upadhyaya Kavi Amar Muni and Muni Kanhaiyalal, Agra, 1957-60; *Ovāiya*, 38, pp. 162f, Commentary by Abhayadeva, second ed., Surat, V. S. 1914. This custom prevailed in the vicinity of Takṣaśilā, Pusalkar, A.D., *Bhāsa—A Study*, Lahore, 1940, 20, p. 469.

5 See *Paṇha, Sū* 12, pp. 55f, Commentary by Abhayadeva, Bombay, 1919. According to Manu (*Vīra Mitrodaya Saṃskāra Prakāśa*, 87-90), a person who has abandoned his religion, who is born of a *pratiloma* marriage, who has committed suicide, a heretic an adultress, a woman causing abortion or hates her husband, should not be given a funeral. The *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (iii.1.6) adds thieves to the list, after. Pandey R. B., *Hindu Saṃskāras*, Banaras, 1949, p. 479.

6 *Niśī Sū*, 3.72; *Cū*, 3.1535; also *Ācā Cū* p. 370, Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, Ratlam, 1941.

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Haribhadra describe these rules in detail. The *Bhag. Ārā* under the section of *Vijahanā* (*vihāna* meaning the entirely abandoned body), the *Āva Nir* and the *Āva Cū* under *Pariṭṭhāvaṇiyā* (*pariṣṭhāpanikā* or placing of the dead) and the *Bṛh Bhā* under *Visumbhaṇa Sutta* (*viṣvagbhavana* or separation of soul from body, a philosophical designation of death) deal with the topic extensively. The *Bhag. Ārā* does not comprise regular sections with regard to *Vijahanā* like the Āva literature which seems to be more organised, providing details.

The *Bṛh Sū* (4.29), a part of the early portion of Jain canonical literature, has laid down the following prescriptions : " If a monk dies during the night or in the day, the fellow-monk should borrow the wooden frame of a layman for carrying the dead (*uvagaraṇa jāya*, is explained as *vahana-kāṣṭha* in the commentary), and keep the body at a solitary place free from living beings, and return the career to the owner. " As the practice finds a place in the ancient texts of both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, it must have existed earlier than the split of the two sects, in about the first century A.D. The section has been divided as follows : 1. *Paḍilehaṇā* (*Pratilekhanā*), 2. *Diśā*, 3. *Ṇantaga* (meaning *vastra*), *Kāla* (comprising *jaggaṇa bandhaṇa* and *chedaṇa*) 5. *Kuśa-paḍimā* (*Kuśa-pratimā*), 6. *Niyattaṇa* (*Nivartana*), *Mattaga* (*Mātraka*), 8. *Śīsa* (*Śīrṣa*), 9. *Taṇa* (*Tṛṇa*), 10. *Uvagaraṇa* (*Upakaraṇa*), 11. *Kāussagga* (*Kāyotsarga*), 12. *Padāhiṇa* (*Prādakṣiṇya*) 13. *Abbhuṭṭāṇa* (*Abbhyutthāna*), 14. *Vāharaṇa* (*Vyāharaṇa*), 15. *Khamaṇa* (*Kṣapaṇa*), 16. *Sajjhāya* (*Svādhyāya*), 17. *Vosiraṇa* (*Vyutsarjana*), 18. *Avaloyaṇa* (*Avalokana*).[7]

Precepts laid down in the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā

First of all, *nisīhiyā*[8] or the place for disposing the dead body has to be properly inspected. It should be a solitary place, having light, not too far, not too close, extensive, ruined (*vidhvasta*), secure, very pure, without any cavity, without grass, illuminating, even, not slippery, free from living beings, free from dust, steady and unobstructed (1964-66).[9] The career of the dead is known here as *siviyā* (*śibikā*)[10] and not *uvakaraṇa* or *vahana-kāṣṭha* as stated earlier.

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7 *Bṛh Bhā*, 5500-5502; *Āva Cū* II, 102; *Āva Nir*, 94-95, p. 71a.

8 Mentioned in the *Anuyoga Sū*, 20, Commentary by Haribhadra, Ratlam, 1928; *VH*, 214, 18; 264, 25, ed. Muni Caturvijaya and Muni Punyavijaya, Shrī Jain Atmananda Sabha, Bhavnagar, 1930-31. It is known as *thaṇḍila* (*sthaṇḍila*) in the *Āva* literature. It is explained as ' *chāra-citi-vajjitaṃ* ', *Niśī Cū*, 3.1536.

9 Compare with *Āva Nir* 96; *Bṛh Bhā*, 4.5504.

10 *Śibikā* indicates a bier in the *Mahābhārata*, Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, New Delhi, 1976. According to *Bṛh Bhā* (5503), the *vahana-kāṣṭha* is made of bamboo or wood, is thick, smooth, not in use at the moment and strong. In the *Gṛhyasūtras*, the dying-couch should be made of bamboo, Pandey, R. B. *op.cit*, p. 432.

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Then one has to look for proper direction (*diśā*). The south-western, the southern and the western directions are considered auspicious for the disposal of the dead. If it is south-west, it will result in all concentration of mind; if south, to easy availability of food to the *saṅgha*, and if west, it will result in smooth wandering of the *saṅgha* and the religious paraphernalia would be easily available to the monks. If the above directions are easy, the following can be chosen : the east-southern, the west-northern, the eastern, the northern and the north-eastern. But these directions are considered inauspicious : if it is east-south there is ' speech-strife ' (*tumaṃ tumam; tū tū main main* in Hindi), if west-north, there is a dispute, if east, there is going to be a split, if north, there is leg-pulling among the members of the *saṅgha* (1967-70).[11]

Then we have *ṇaṃtaga*. It is laid down in the *Āva* literature that at the time of disposing the dead, the monk should possess three pieces of cloth, one to spread below,[12] another to cover the body, and the third one which is very white and clean should be employed to cover the whole body properly (*Bṛh Bhā* 5510-13; *Āva Cū*, 103).[13] It is important to note that this section does not find place in the *Bhag. Ārā*. The reason seems to be that the controversy with regard to the use of cloth by a monk between the two sects was gaining ground gradually. Moreover, Śivārya, the author of the *Bhag. Ārā*, belonged to the Yāpanīya sect, whose followers went about naked, carried a bunch of peacock feathers and had their food in the palm of their hands, could not entertain the idea of cloth being used even for covering the dead body.

About the time (*kāla*), it has been stated. " Whenever, whether during the day or night, a monk dies, he is to be taken out as soon as possible. In case it is not possible to do so, the fellow-monks should keep awake, tie his toes[14]

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11 These *gāthās* are almost identical with those in the *Āva Nir* (97-99) and the *Bṛh Bhā* (5505-5506); also *Āva Cū*, 103. Here two different traditions seem to have been followed. Contrary to the *Bhag. Ārā* tradition, it has been stated : " The south-western direction is the best as by disposing the dead here the plenty of food and cloth is available. But in its absence if southern direction is chosen there is no availability of food, and if it is west, the religious paraphernalia would not be readily accessible to the monk, *Bṛh Bhā* (4.5506); *Āva Cū*, 103.

12 In the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iv. 1), a piece of black antelope skin is used.

13 The use of pure and new cloth is mentioned in the *Gṛhyasūtra*, Pandey, R. B. *op cit*, 433.

14 The big toes were tied together with a bunch of twigs so that the dead should not walk back to the house after the corpse was taken out, see *Atharva-veda*, V. 1.

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and thumbs (*bandhaṇa*) and strip of his finger and cut it through slightly.[15] The monk who keeps awake, should not be a child, aged, newly initiated, devoted to austerities, coward, sick, distressed or holding the status of an *ācārya*, but he should be brave and courageous, who could control his sleep (1072).[16] The monks who are learned, vigilant, strong, valorous and come under the category of great saints should tie and strip of the thumb and the toes of the dead monk.[17] If these rites are not followed, it is possible that some deity might enter the dead body, rise, play and create disturbances to the *saṅgha* (1974).[18] Here the *gāthā* (No. 1975) has not been explained either by Pandit Sadāsukha in his *Bhāṣā-Vacanikā* or the early commentators of the work. However, under such conditions, it has been stated in the *Bṛh Bhā* (5526) that holding the urine in his left hand, the monk should sprinkle it over the corpse, invoking the deity not to rise. Besides, the *Bṛh Bhā* provides the following additional information in this connection : " In case there had been a terrible snow-fall during night, or there was trouble from robbers or wild beasts, or the city gates were closed, or terrible noise was going on, or carrying out of the dead during night was prohibited by order, or the relatives of the monk had requested earlier not to dispose of the body without informing them, or the diseased happened to be a renowned *ācārya* or a great *tapasvī*, he is not to be taken out during night (5519)". Similarly, " If the monks did not have white clean cloths or the city gates remained closed as the king accompanied by his retinue of queens, had entered the town, or made exit together with his attendants and warriors, the body of the diseased should not be taken out during the day (5520)".

About placing the head of the dead monk, it is stated that having placed it on a couch it should be tied up so that it may not rise with its head directed towards the village (1977).[19]

While carrying the dead body the monks should pass through the road which has been known already. They should not stop in the middle, nor turn back or look behind (1978).[20] One of the monks should walk ahead carrying a handful

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15 This *gāthā* is identical with *Bṛh Bhā* (5518); *Āva Nir* (102); *Āva Cū* (104). It is noteworthy that in the *Bhā* (5524) and *Cū* ' covering the face with *putti* or *mukhapotika* ' (a piece of cloth held before the mouth) is added.

16 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5522) and *Āva Cū* (104) with slight different wordings.

17 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5524). The Digambara commentator Pandit Sadāsukha (middle of 19th century) expresses his inability to explain *bandhaṇa* and *chedaṇa* referred to in the context.

18 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5526).

19 Partially indentical with *Bṛh Bhā* (5531); *Āva Nir* (116); *Āva Cū* (105).

20 Compare with *Brh-Bhā* (5528-29); *Āva Nir* (111); *Āva Cū* (105).

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of *kuśa* grass (*kusa-muṭṭhi*).[21] He should not stop in the middle, nor should turn back or look behind (1979).[22]

Then by strewing the handful *kuśa* grass of unbroken edge he should make the ground in level (1980).[23] If the ground is not in level, there is a possibility of death of an *ācārya, a vṛṣabha* or a *yati* (1982).[24] If the *kuśa* grass is not within the reach, the filament of flowers (*kesara*), ashes or brick-powder can be used inscribing the sign of *ka* and *ta*, one below the other (1988).[25] Coming to the section of religious paraphernalia (*upakaraṇa*), it is stated that the articles should be properly inspected and placed by the side of the diseased (1989).[26] Explaining the reason of placing the religious articles by the side of the dead, it is stated that it is possible that a monk, having violated the right faith, was born in heaven, and later on the earth, and he might get enlightened to right faith after noticing the religious articles placed by the side of his corpse (1984).[27] It is interesting to note that here the later commentators of the Digaṁbara sect specify the peacock-feather and *kamaṇḍalu*, as an integral part of *upakaraṇa*, whereas the Śvetāmbaras mention *rajoharaṇa, mukhapaṭṭi* and *colapaṭṭaka*.

Then the proper constellation has to be noticed while laying down the dead. It is stated that if one died in abhijit constellation (*ṇattābhāye; nattābhīye ?* is not clear in the text), it would result in the welfare of the *saṅgha*, if it was the sama[28] constellation, another monk might die, and if it was divaḍḍha (dvya-

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21 *Kuśa muṣṭhi* is mentioned in the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* and the *Mahābhārata*, Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. *Kuśa* grass was scattered on sacrificial vessels and other articles and the cremation was performed when no clue was traced of the person gone abroad, Pandey, R. B. *op.cit*, 477. In case of funeral ceremony, the man leading the procession, carries a firebrand in his hand, *ibid*, 434.

22 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5530); *Āva Nir* (110); *Āva Cū* (105).

23 Identical with *Bṛh Bhā* (5532); *Āva Nir* (112); *Āva Cū* (105).

24 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5533-34); almost identical with 5533.

25 The *gāthā* is almost identical with *Bṛh Bhā* (5535); *Āva Nir* (115); *Āva Cū* (105f).

26 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5536); *Āva Nir* (117); *Āva Cū* (106). Placing the beggingbowl and the *kamaṇḍalu* on the right hand are mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iii. 11).

27 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5537); *Āva Nir* (117); *Āva Cū* (106). Here the story of the monk of Ujjayinī has been cited and the commentator has suggested the readers to refer to the *Āva* commentary by Haribhadra.

28 The constellation is supposed to last for 30 *muhūrtas*. There are 15 such constellations : aśvinī, kṛttikā, mṛgaśirā, puṣya, maghā, pūrvāphālgunī, hasta, citrā, anurādhā, mūla, purvāṣāḍhā, śrāvaṇa, dhaniṣṭhā, pūrvābhādrapada and revatī, *Bṛh Bhā* 5527 commentary.

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pārdha, meaning one and a half),[29] the two might be deprived of their life (1985). Therefore in order to give protection to the Order, in the Sama constellation, an image of *darbha* grass, similar in figure of the diseased, has to be prepared, and in the divaḍḍha constellation two such images have to be made (1986). Then having placed the *darbha* grass image by the side of the dead, one should declare that 'your own image has been offered to you' (1987).[30] Then for the sake of devotion to the *saṅgha*, the monks should observe *kāyotsarga* (meditation in standing posture) and invoke the deity of their dwelling place (*vasati devatā*) saying that the monks would like to stay there with his permission (1990).[31] If a monk belonging to one's own *gaṇa* died, the members of the *gaṇa* should observe fast and should not perform *svādhyāya* (reading of scripture). In case the diseased belongs to another group, one should not perform *svādhyāya* but he may or may not observe fast (1991).[32]

Then the monk should go for inspection of the dead on the third day of his death so that the migration of his soul could be known (1992).[33] The number of days the corpse remained unimpaired by the beasts of the jungle, for the same number of years were available plenty of food, security and prosperity in the country (1993).[34] The direction in which the parts of the corpse were taken by birds and beasts, would be safe and the *saṅgha* could travel in that direction without difficulty (1994).[35] If the head or the teeth of the diseased were found on the top of a mountain, it should be taken for granted that the monk had

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29 It continues for 45 *muhūrtas* or half a day. There are six such constellations: uttarāphālgunī, uttarāṣāḍhā, uttarābhādrapada, punarvasu, rohiṇī and viśākhā, *ibid.*

30 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5527), condensed in one *gāthā;* also *Āva Nir* (105-108); *Āva Cū* (105). In the funeral ceremony of Hindus the *darbha* grass is arranged in the figure of a man and the remains are laid upon it and covered with an old cloth, Pandey, R. B. *op.cit*, 463.

31 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5538); *Āva Nir* (123); *Āva Cū* (106). Here *kāyotsarga* is to be performed in the presence of a teacher. Then for happiness and peace a eulogy in praise of Ajita *Tirthaṅkara* has to be recited (5548-49). Compare *śāntikarma* or pacificatory rites for the well-being of the living in the *Gṛhyasūtra*, Pandey, R. B. *op.cit.*, 457.

32 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5550); *Āva Nir* (124); *Āva Cū* (107).

33 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5554); *Āva Nir* (125); *Āva Cū* (107). In place of the third, day the following day is mentioned here.

34 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5556); *Āva Cū* (108).

35 Compare with *Bṛh Bhā* (5555), partially identical; also *Āva Nir* (126); *Āva Cū* (108).

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attained perfection (1995). And if his head was seen on a raised ground, he would be born among *vaimānika* gods, if on a flat ground, among *jyotiṣka* or *vyantara* gods, and if it was found in a ditch, he would be born among *bhavanavāsī* gods (1996).[36]

Other References about the Disposal of the dead

The differences between the *Bhag. Ārā* and the *Ava* literature, noted above, indicate that there were strong traditions with regard to the disposal of the dead, observed by Jains. Kṣemakīrti (13th century A.D.) in his commentary on the *Bṛh Bhā* has cited references pointing out to old tradition (*vṛddha-sampradāya*).

Like the *Bṛh Bhā* and the *Nisī Bhā*, the *Vyavahāra Bhā* too has an important place in ancient Jain canonical literature. It provides certain details with regard to the disposal of the dead bodies of monks. It was customary, for example, in the city of Ānandapura that the dead bodies of monks and ascetics were laid down in the north direction. If the village was crowded with farms, the body could have been placed on a royal road or a spot left out at the border of two villages. In case no such place was available, it could have been removed to cemetery (*śmaśāna*). If the guardian of the cemetery asked for the tax, he should be pacified by preaching sermons, or providing him with the covering of the dead. If he was not satisfied with that, the monk should go to the village and beg of cloths from some one to be given to him. If the guardian still remained unsatisfied, the monk should report the matter to the royalty. If the king replied that he had no control over the cemetery guardian, the monk should keep the corpse at the cemetery entrance, in an open ground on green grass, presuming that he was keeping it on *dharmāstikāya* (a substance that helps motion).[37]

Directions are prescribed to carry the dead body. At first, it is laid down that it should be carried by monks, or by laymen, or carried in a bullock cart,[38] or by Mallas. The laymen should report the matter to the royalty. If the dead body was carried by *cāṇḍālas*, there was a possibility of getting Jain teachings humiliated.[39] In case there were only four persons (including the guardian of the dwelling-place) to carry the bier, three of them should take rest on the way and then proceed further. One who paused should carry the grass and the pot. Under extreme conditions, the Jain monks were allowed to assume the form of a

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36 The *gāthā* is identical with *Bṛh Bhā* (5558); *Āva Nir* (127); *Āva Cū* (108).

37 *Vyavahāra Bhā* (7. 442-46, p. 75 a ff).

38 The *Atharvaveda* (2.56) refers to the corpse removed on a cart drawn by two bulls and not by men, Pandey, R. B. *op.cit.*, 426.

39 An orphan monk was removed by *cāṇḍalas* by making payment, *Vyavahāra Bhā* (7.37); also *Manusmṛti* (X. 55).

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non-Jain ascetic and dispose of the corpse. In case there were only one monk, ascetics or laymen should be called from neighbouring villages. If they were not available, women should be called, or the members of the Malla *gaṇa*, Hastipāla *gaṇa*, or Kumbhakāra *gaṇa* should be approached. In case that was not possible, the monks were permitted to seek assistance from village-headman, people from degraded caste, sweepers, barbers and others. If they refused to work without payment, they should be preached sermons or be given a piece of cloth.[40]

Concluding Remarks

1. The *Bhag Ārā* preserves certain practices of great antiquity with regard to the disposal of the dead. It reflects the pre-vedic early society when instead of burying or cremating the dead, people preferred to abandon it in an open space to be devoured by birds and beasts. Such practices have been referred to in the Brahmanic scriptures such as the *Atharvaveda*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Gṛhyasūtras*.

2. It is significant that (i) though the *Bhag. Ārā* is composed by a Digambara author, it refers to the Śvetāmbara canonical works as an authority; (ii) a number of verses concerning the disposal of the dead are identical in the *Bhag. Ārā* and the *Āvā Nir* and the *Bṛh Bhā* and convey the same meaning at times with slightly different wordings; (iii) a number of *gāthās* of the *Bhag. Ārā* are identical with the *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera, the *Āva Nir* and the *Prakīrṇaka* texts; (iv) a number of narratives such as those of Dhanya and Śālibhadra, Avanti Sukumāla, Gajasukumāra, Medārya, Enikāputra, Cilātaputra, Sukosala, Cāṇakya and others; at many places with identical verses, are common in the *Bhag. Ārā* and the *Prakīrṇaka* texts and other ancient texts of the Śvetāmbaras.

3. The material contained in the *Bhag. Ārā* belongs to the time of early Jainism when the division of Śvetāmbara and Digambara did not exist in the Jain *saṅgha*. Both of them have followed common traditions without any bias or prejudice.

4. This ancient literature needs a critical and comparative study at the hands of scholars which is bound to throw a flood of light on early history and development of Jainism.

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40 *Vyavahāra Bhā* (7.449-62).

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HISTORY OF KELADI

(A study based on the Sanskrit work Śivatattvaratnākara of Keḷadi Basavarāja)

By

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Geographical Background

Before presenting a study of Keḷadi history, Basavarāja, the illustrious member of the Keḷadi family has taken pride in describing the geographical background of the country where the Keḷadi monarchs ruled. The Keḷadi kingdom included mostly the Malnād area or hilly countries and coastal lands. The beautiful panoramic scenery of the malnad country strikes the imagination of every observer even today.

Here is a description of *Malladeśa* as found in *STR* (Śivatattvaratnākara) Malladeśa is surrounded by holy rivers like Tuṅgabhadrā and others which are the removers of all sins. Lots of Śivaliṅgas like Rāmeśvara liṅga are found here which grant the wishes of devotees. All the people here are devotees of Lord Śiva and wear *vibhūti* and *rudrākṣa*. The land is filled with hermitages which revibrate with the chantings of the āgamas. There are several *agrahāras* offered to brāhmaṇas and these appear beautiful like lovely necklaces of Mother Earth.[1] There are several *maṭhas* representing all schools of philosophy and occupied by people following different doctrines.[2] Even ordinary ponds look like oceans. Sages spend day and night on the banks of the lakes engaged in deep meditation. The land is filled with green fields and rows of tall arecanut trees. Creepers of betel leaves are found entwined on the branches. The pollen dust rising in the flower gardens is like fragrant talcum powder. The sweet juice of sugarcanes pecked by parrots flow like rivers in the fields. Lots of trees are seen with branches bent down due to weight of fruits inviting the travellers as it were and

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* 'Shubhodaya' 38-XI Main Rod, Malleswaram West, Bangalore-55

1 *yatrāgrahārā bahavo bhūsurebhyaḥ samarpitāḥ*
kṣoṇīramaṇyā rucirā hārā iva vibhānti ye ।
—*STR*, V. 2. 9.

2 *yatra deśe pravartante sarvato darśānānyapi*
tanmatānugatānām ca maṭhabhedāḥ sahasraśaḥ ।
—*STR*, V. 2-11.

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offering them cool shade. *Bandha* (bondage, composition) is seen only in poetry, *mada* (pride, intoxication) is found only in elephants, *kanakadaṇda* (punishment, golden handle) is seen only in parasols, *cintā* (thought, worry) is seen only in *śāstras*, *kampa* (shivering, wavering) is found only in flags, *varṇasaṅkara* (mixture of colours, intermixing of castes) is found only in painting. Murder of women is found only in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (not in *Malladeśa*) and gambling is found only in the *Mahābhārata* (not here).[3] (*STR* V. 2. 4-27).

No doubt, the author has made use of his poetic genius to describe the beauty of his native land. The above description may be accepted as an excellent specimen of beautiful poetry. Making full allowance for the above eloquent praise it could still be maintained that *Malladeśa* was a beautiful and fertile country and inhabited by virtuous people of many religions and faiths under the able and tolerant administration of the rulers.

The above-mentioned account is largely corroborated by the accounts of the foreign travellers like Pietro Della Valle and also Liṅgaṇṇakavi.[4]

Chauḍappa, the Founder of Keḷadi Kingdom

A householder named Basava was living with his wife Basavāmba in a town called Keḷadi of the beautiful Malladeśa. He was very pious and a true devotee of Lord Śiva. He was blessed with four sons who were like four *puruṣārthas*. In course of time, two of the sons died and the remaining two Chauḍa and Bhadra grew up. They were married and were leading a happy life. (27-32).

One day, when Chauḍappa set out to the field he saw good omens and on that day when he was sleeping under a shady tree a serpent approached him and held its hood above his head and then disappeared. When Chauḍa's mother came there by chance, she saw this fearful sight and woke her son. They recalled the saying that the merits of the previous births protect a sleeping person in battlefield, forests, mountains and waters. (33-39).

The above-mentioned story has no significance with regard to the history of the Keḷadi kings. Probably, the author has described this to indicate the glory and greatness attained later by Chauḍappa. The same story is described in *KNV* with a slight change that the serpent showed them a spot on the ground by touching it with its hood and on ploughing the spot, Chauḍappa found a treasure-trove and a sword.[5] Such stories were prevalent in many parts of Karnataka and our

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3 *kampā dhvajeṣu varṇānām saṅkaraścitrakarmasu*
madhupānamalivrāte dūtasaṁpresaṇam ratau ।
.. —*STR, V.* 2. 25-27.

4 Pietro Della Valle, *Travels in India*, London, 1895, II. p. 220.
Liṅgaṇṇakvi, *Keḷadi Nṛpa Vijayam*, Mysore, 1921, pp. 5-7.

5 Liṅgaṇṇakavi, *op. cit.* pp. 11-13.

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author has described a similar one in connection with the foundation of Vijayanagara Empire.[6]

A cow belonging to Chauḍappa's family went to the forest daily and shed her milk on a spot surrounded by shrubs. On digging the spot Chauḍappa found a *liṅga* and a stone inscription on which was engraved that the *liṅga* is that of Rāmeśvara.[7] Chauḍappa took out the *liṅga* and was performing *pūjā* every day with great devotion. One night, by the grace of God, Chauḍa dreamt a propitious dream which prognosticated that he would soon obtain hidden treasure. Then, Chauḍa got the hidden treasure. (40-50).

On acquiring the treasure by the grace of God, Chauḍappa became *grāmādhipati* (headman of the village). Then, in course of time he organized a limited army. He was summoned to the court by the *Sārvabhauma* (Vijayanagara monarch), who, pleased with the progress of Chauḍappa, made him the governor of *Malladeśa* with the title of 'Keḷadi Chauḍappanāyaka'.[8] After returning to Keḷadi, Chauḍappa built a temple for Rāmeśvara and granted vast lands for the worship of the deity. He destroyed the wicked and protected the virtuous by his valour and strength of arms. He became prosperous and in course of time was blessed with two sons Sadāśiva and Bhadra who became well versed in all branches of knowledge. They were married to worthy women. After some years Chauḍappa entrusted the responsibility of the kingdom to his elder son Sadāśiva and taught him all the topics related to political science. (V. 4. 37-48).

From the above accounts we can gather the following historical truth about the founder of Keḷadi kingdom : Chauḍappa acquired a hidden treasure by chance and after this he raised a small force, put down the neighbouring territories by dint of his prowess and this attracted the attention of the Vijayanagara emperor who conferred upon him a title of *Nāyaka*.

Sadāśiva Nāyaka

Chauḍappa was succeeded by his son Sadāśiva Nāyaka. *STR* has not mentioned the date of his succession. On the basis of epigraphical evidence,

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6 *STR*, IV. 12. 6-53.

7 *liṅgamekam dadarśānyatkimastīti didṛkṣayā*
khātāyām śāsanaśilāphalako bhuvyadṛśyata |
vācite niradhāryasmin liṅgam rāmeśvarābhidham
pūjayamāsa tam nityamupacāraistadekadhīḥ ||
—*STR*, V. 32. 45, 46.

8 *malladeśam vaśam tasya vidhāya tadanantaram*
nāmadāt 'Keḷadi coḍappanāyaka' iti svayam
—*STR*, V. 4. 41, 42.

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historians are of the opinion that Sadāśiva's accession took place in 1544 A.D. and lasted up to 1565 A.D.[9] He got two sons from his two wives. The elder son was named Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇanāyaka and the younger Chikkasaṅkaṇṇanāyaka. (V. 5.2).

Sadāśivanāyaka gave training to his sons in all sciences and arts. He performed their marriages and was ruling over the kingdom in accordance with law and justice. He was protecting the state from the onslaughts of the enemies. (3-6).

Our author has described the military prowess and political wisdom of the illustrious Sadāśivanāyaka. At the request of Rāmarāja, the Lord of Vijayanagara, Sadāśivanāyaka led a successful expedition against the rulers of Kalyāṇa and Kalluburigi (Gulbarga), vanquished the Lord of Vijayapura (Bijapur) who made a futile attempt to defeat him and aided Rāmarāja in capturing the city of Kalyāṇa. (7-14). After defeating the enemies when they were proceeding towards the fort of Kalyāṇa, Rāmarāja threw his weapon *yamadaṁṣṭra* inside the fort and commanded his army chiefs to capture the fort and get back the weapon. While others hesitated, Sadāśiva entered the fort bravely, recovered the weapon and presented it to Rāmarāja. In recognition of the services rendered on this occasion, Rāmarāja besides bestowing upon Sadāśiva the titles of *Rāya-Nāyaka* and *Koṭekolāhala*, appointed him governor of Candragutti, Barakuru and Pungaluru. Rāmarāja honoured Sadāśiva by giving him many gifts like clothes and ornaments.[10] (15-21).

Sadāśivanāyaka was a very loyal feudatory of Vijayanagara and was always ready to risk his life for defending the Hindu empire. A few more achievements are described by our author which confirm the above statement. When the Muslims of Candragutti rebelled against the Vijayanagara king, Sadāśivanāyaka was asked to put down the rebels and he succeeded in vanquishing them. The next notable achievement of Sadāśiva was his invasion of the country of Varida Pātusaḥ (Sultan of Bidar) which was also undertaken at the bidding of Rāmarāya. Sadāśivanāyaka brought this Sultan prisoner to Rāmarāya alongwith the seven constituents of his royalty.[11] Pleased with this Rāmarāja made several gifts to

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9 Rao, N. Lakshminarayana. *Vijayanagar Sex-Centenary Volume, Dharwar*, 1936, p. 258.

10 *sārvabhaumo dadau tasmai kotikolāhalābhidhām*
virudāni mahārghāṇi vasanābharaṇāni ca
deśāṁstrīn guttibārkūrupuṅgalūrupadāṅkitān
.. *STR*, V. 5. 19, 20.

11 *vāridapātuśahasya vijayāya pracoditaḥ*
vijitam tam kare kṛtvā saha saptāṅgasampadā ।
—*STR*, V. 5. 2. 5.

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Sadāśivanāyaka and bestowed on him another title '*Śatrusaptāṅgaharaṇa*'. (23-27). He defeated another rebel named Salvatimma at the command of Rāmarāja. (28).

After a few days, the Vijayanagara king asked Sadāśivanāyaka to conquer the *Taulava* (king of Tulu country) and the king of Kerala country who were trying to vanquish others by means of witchcraft and sorcery. Sadāśivanāyaka defeated them by his prowess and the grace of God and erected a stone pillar in Kerala country and brought huge booty to Rāmarāja. (29, 30, 83-87). He further won a victory over the forces of Yādava and Murāri, the chieftains of Jalihālu. As a recognition of this achievement, he was bestowed the title '*Yādavamurārikotekolāhala*'. (88-92). He also defeated and imprisoned Madarasa, the chief of Bankapura. (99).

Our author has described not only the military prowess and political wisdom of his illustrious ancestor Sadāśivanāyaka but has described the remarkable patronage extended by the Keḷadi chief to religious institutions and temples. Sadāśivanāyaka granted vast lands to carry out the daily worship of Lord Rāmeśvara, built a city called Sadāśivasāgara, built the Sadāśiva *agrahāra* on the banks of the Kuśāvatī river, gifted the same to virtuous and learned brāhmaṇas and people of noble family, consecrated the idol (*liṅga*) of Rāmeśvara in a temple, installed the surrounding deities (*āvaraṇa devatā*) in the temple, and granted land to carry out the daily services of worship in the temple. (93-97). All these meritorious deeds brought him fame and glory.

In the meanwhile, Bhadrappanāyaka, the younger brother of Sadāśivanāyaka returned after his pilgrimage to Kāśī. After spending sometime happily with him, Sadāśivanāyaka bestowed the title '*Immaḍi Sadāśivanāyaka*' on his younger brother, entrusted the kingdom to him and retired from active administration.[12] He passed away after a few days. (100-104).

There is a difference of opinion among the historians regarding the successor of Sadāśivanāyaka and the person on whom the title '*Immaḍi Sadāśivanāyaka*' was conferred. According to *KNV*, the title was bestowed on Sadāśivanāyaka by Krishnarāya, the emperor of Vijayanagar and that he was succeeded by his elder son Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇanāyaka.[13] Others identify Immaḍi Sadāśivanāyaka

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12 *athānuje samāyāte kāśyā bhadrappanāyake*

. . .

tasya datvemmaḍisadāśivanāyakanāma ca
paṭṭābhiṣekamakarodgantukāmastapovanam |
—*STR*, V. 5. 100-102.

13 Liṅgaṇṇakavi, *op. cit.* pp. 32 and 43.

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with Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa on the basis of copper plate grant of Veṅkaṭappanāyaka.[14] Though the identification of Immaḍi Sadāśivanāyaka is conflicting, *STR* has also been accepted as valuable evidence by a few historians and they surmise that the title was conferred on none else than Bhadrappa, younger brother of Sadāśivanāyaka and that he ruled for just one year.[15]

Bhadrappa ruled for some time and nominated the elder of his two nephews, Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa as his successor and the younger Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa as the heir-apparent. With great love and care he taught them all the rules related to politics. (105-107).

Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa Nāyaka

STR describes Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇanāyaka as the beautiful moon who delighted the entire world with his just rule. (V. 7.44).

During his brief rule, this ruler quelled the rebellion of Jambur. The chief of Jambur, Virūpaṇṇa, refused to pay tribute to the king of Vijayanagar. Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa vanquished him and brought him forcibly in the presence of the emperor. Pleased with his courage and valour, the king of Vijayanagara asked him to stay with his family in Vijayanagara after entrusting the kingdom of Keḷadi to the younger brother Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa. (45-48).

Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa was blessed with two sons who were named as Rāmarāja and Veṅkaṭappanāyaka. The king of Vijayanagara, Rāmarāya was pleased that Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa, chose his name to his son. He made Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa, the governor of Holehonnūru, Māsūru and Belimallūru, gave him many gifts and sent him back to his home town. (49-52).

STR has also recorded Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa's campaign against the Portugese in the company of Viṭṭhala, Rāmarāya's cousin. The king of Vijayanagara was pleased with this successful campaign in Goa and granted him the city Mahādevapura as a reward.[16] (53-56).

After this Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa undertook a pilgrimage to holy places. (57). After visiting the holy places in the south he proceeded to the north. He visited many sacred śaiva centres. Then he proceeded to Kāśī, Nīlakaṇṭha, Nepal, Kedār and Kashmir. From there he went to Kurukṣetra wherefrom he went to Delhi. (V. 9. 3-8).

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14 Rao, N. Lakshminarayana. *op. cit.* p. 259.

15 Swaminathan, K. D. *The Nāyakas of Ikkeri*, Madras, 1957, pp. 31-32.

16 *nāmnā viṭṭhalarājena yāpayāmāsa tam prati*
tatastān vairiṇo rājā govādeśanivāsinaḥ
parābhavatsārvabhaumónujena saha saṁgataḥ
STR, V. 8. 53-56.

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Next, our author has narrated in an interesting manner another heroic feat of Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa. As Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa entered the city of Delhi, he saw a sword being hung at the gateway. On enquiry he was told about the prize-fighter Aṅkuśakhan who had hung the sword as a challenge to others. Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa decided to challenge him in the sword-fight and was offered many swords. But he broke all these by the strength of his shoulder and the Sultan of Delhi was wonderstruck. Finally, Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa used his own sword acquired by the grace of Rāmeśvara and killed the opponent. (9-20). Delhi Sultan was immensely pleased with this heroic feat and granted him many lands, money, clothes and ornaments. Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa was highly religious and detatched and so he distributed the lands, money etc. for the maintenance of temples and construction of *maṭhas* in Kāśī. After reaching his home-land he settled down in a village named Vaṭavalli. (65-71).

One night, Lord Vīrabhadra appeared in his dream in the form of an ascetic and informed him that he was living in a lake near the town and that he should be taken out and installed in the city. Accordingly, Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa found the Vīrabhadraliṅga and installed the same in front of Rameśaliṅga in Keḷadi. (72-77).

Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa Nāyaka

After his pilgrimage Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇanāyaka performed the coronation ceremony of his younger brother Chikkasaṅkaṇṇanāyaka and handed over the kingdom to him. (V. 10. 173).

When Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa was ruling, the earth yielded plenty of fruits, (V. 15.4). He got a son named Siddhappanāyaka. (5). He resisted the attack of the enemy Mañjulakhān and defeated him. After this he displayed great valour in putting down enemies like Gerosoppa Bhairā Devī and plundered their wealth. (7-10). Then Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa crowned Veṅkaṭappanāyaka (elder brother's son) and made his younger brother Rāmarājanāyaka the heir-apparent.[17] (11).

The above statement of our author makes Rāmarājanāyaka the *yuvarāja* and so the younger brother of Veṅkaṭappa which contradicts the previous statement.[18] His statement made here in *STR* is declared to be a serious error because all the historians have come to the conclusion that Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa and

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17 *tataḥparam veṅkaṭappanāyakam jyāyasaḥ sutam*
abhyasiñcannije rājye *yauvarājye'sya cānujam* |
STR, V. 15. 11.

18 *STR*, V. 7. 49, 50.

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Rāmarājanāyaka ruled the kingdom jointly for some time and then Rāmarāja continued to rule after the death of Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa.[19]

KNV also states that Veṅkaṭappanāyaka succeeded his elder brother Rāmarājanāyaka to the Keḷadi throne in the year 1582 A.D.[20]

After declaring his nephew Veṅkaṭappanāyaka the king of Keḷadi, Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa retired from administration and took to asceticism. (V. 15.110).

By mentioning the defeat of Bhairā Devī and other chieftains of neighbouring regions, our author has brought out the tendency of the Keḷadi king to grow and expand and to become completely independent of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Veṅkaṭappanāyaka

Authorities agree that Veṅkaṭappanāyaka was the most successful ruler after Sadāśivanāyaka.[21] Our author has described him as one interested in art and architecture. He built the beautiful city in the region of Ikkeri and constructed a beautiful palace therein. He built a beautiful *Nāṭakaśālā* also. In the town called Sāṅgala, he built a water-tank and raised a beautiful garden. (VI. 1. 3-6).

He protected the welfare of the people by strictly following the rules of *Rājanīti*. He led a luxurious life. (13.128-130). He got a son named Bhadrappanāyaka whose son was Vīrabhadra. Bhadrappa was detached from worldly life and after entrusting his son to the care of Veṅkaṭappa, he departed to the heavenly abode. (131-133)

Once when Veṅkaṭappa was staying in a place called Hole-honnūru situated within the ramparts, a certain chief named Hanuma being assisted by a large army of Muslims surrounded the ramparts. Veṅkaṭappa, all alone, came out of the ramparts on horseback, collected a huge army, came back and killed Hanuma. (136-139).

He defeated another chief Mañcālakhān who had come to offer help to Hanuma. (139-140). Then he erected a flag-staff to celebrate his victory over them. (140).

The elder son of Hanuma who wanted to make treaty with Veṅkaṭappanāyaka, offered him the territories named Lakkuvalli, Gajanūru and Śimogge and too refuge under him. After honouring the refugee, Veṅkaṭappa camped for some time on the bank of River Tungabhadrā. (141-143).

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19 Rao, N. Lakshminarayana, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

20 *KNV*, Mysore, 1921, p. 70.

21 *Karnataka Through the Ages*, Bangalore, 1968, p. 671.

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The younger brother (of the refugee) seeing that his brother had taken refuge under an enemy, marched with a big army to attack Veṅkaṭappa. But he was defeated by Veṅkaṭappa. He took to his heels and reached the place called Bāṇāvara. (143-145). Then Veṅkaṭappanāyaka defeated many petty chiefs of places in the neighbourhood of Keḷadi such as Danivāsa, Hebbe etc. He built strong forts and laid four types of paths which were unapproachable to the enemies. (146-149).

Next, Veṅkaṭappa defeated and captured Bhairā Devī in an encounter. She was the ruler of the Tulu country, was very brave and was causing trouble to the people.[22] (149-150). After a few days he vanquished the arrogance and pride of Śaṅkaranārayaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Veṇupura who was causing misery near the boundary region. Considering the fact that the rebel was a brāhmaṇa, Veṅkaṭappa spared his life. (151-153).

Once, when a fort called Kauravadurga was attacked by rebels, Veṅkaṭappa defeated them all and renovated the fort. He renamed the fort as Bhuvanadurga and installed deities like Viśveśvara, Laksmīnarāyāṇa, Mailāra, Virūpākṣa, Viṭṭhala, Narasīmha, Vīrabhadra in and around the fort. He constructed palaces and mansions also. (154-158).

Veṅkaṭappa always had in mind the spiritual and material welfare of the people. In the fortress of Bhuvanagiri he built a Śṛṅgeri *Maṭha* and an *agrahāra*. He built a palace and a *mahanta-maṭha* and granted lands. In the region called Anantaśivapuri, he built the city of Ānanda and constructed rampart inside the city. There he installed the liṅga of Tāṇḍaveśvara in a temple. He also constructed another temple of Śrī Raṅganātha and granted vast lands for conducting *pūjā* in the temple. For the welfare of brāhmaṇas, a *maṭha* named Campaksara was also built. In the city of Ikkeri he sank a large tank called Sadāśivasāgara and constructed a palace also. A palace for water-sports also was built. On the bank of river Varadā he built an *agrahāra* known as Viśvanāthapura. (158-166).

Veṅkaṭappa performed sacrifices like the Vājapeya. He erected two more *agrahāras*, Vīrāmbapura and Abhinava Vīrāmbapura to commemmorate the names of his mother and wife respectively. He made munificent grants for the temples of Ādiśakti, Maheśa, Mūkāmbikā, Subrahmaṇya and Śaṅkaranārayaṇa. (167-171).

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22 *tatastālavarājyasya śāsitrīm bahuvikramām*
upadrutaprjām svairam bhairādevīm parābhavan
—STR, VI. 13. 149-150.

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Veṅkaṭappanāyaka was a patron of learning and literature and he encouraged scholars to write *Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Dharmaśāstra*s etc.[23] (170-171).

From the account of Veṅkaṭappanāyaka given in *STR*, the following points become clear :

He asserted his independence from the suzerainty of Vijayanagar and extended his kingdom on all sides and Ikkeri became a powerful state in the political struggles of the period. He always looked to the spiritual and material welfare of the people. He was a lover of art and architecture and extended his patronage to literary works written by scholars. He had deep devotion to God, was religious minded and benevolent. Above all he was a righteous king. After training his grandson Vīrabhadrappanāyaka in state-craft and administration, he entrusted the kingdom to him. (174).

Vīrabhadranāyaka

Vīrabhadranāyaka, grandson of Veṅkaṭappanāyaka, succeeded him. He is described as a king who had a strong and healthy body, nourished himself with rejuvenating tonic (*rasāyana*) prepared according to specifications and enjoyed all pleasures. He, alongwith his two paternal uncles Śivappa and Veṅkaṭappa ruled the kingdom. (VI. 27. 119-121).

Many of his relatives began to conspire against him assisted by many strong chieftains. Vīrabhadra put them all down in the battle-field just as Bhimasena destroyed all the Kauravas. (122-123).

Once the chief of Basavapaṭṭaṇa, Hanuma of Puvala family invaded the outskirts of the city of Ikkeri assisted by the Muslim army and went back to his hometown. Vīrabhadra marched with a big army and attacked Basavapaṭṭaṇa. The chief, Hanuma was defeated and Vīrabhadra took possession of the city alongwith its wealth. (123-128).

Vīrabhadra was childless and his feeling of disgust to the world due to childlessness is described in *STR*. (128-130). He got detached from the worldly affairs and wanted to spend the rest of his life in the worship of Śiva. (131-133).

He requested his two uncles to look after the administration of the kingdom. Then he coronated Śivappanāyaka with great pomp and declared him the king of Keḷadi. (135-142).

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23 *kṛtīśca kārayāmāsa vidvatkṛtacamatkṛtīḥ*
kāvye ca nāṭake dharmaśāstrādau ca mahattaraḥ
—*STR*, VI. 13. 171.
Details of the works composed during the time of Veṅkaṭappa are given in *KNV* (Mysore 1921), pp. 88-89.

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Thus it becomes clear that during Vīrabhadranāyaka's rule even though the whole of Keḷadi State was disturbed by civil wars and rebellions, he was able to ward off the evils of civil war and put down all rebels with the help of his uncles. Though he enjoyed all the pleasures in life, he got disgusted with them and turned his mind to the service of God.

Śivappanāyaka

Śivappanāyaka, the successor of Vīrabhadranāyaka was a renowned organiser and administrator and was one of the distinguished sovereigns of Keḷadi dynasty.

To begin with, our author describes the pomp and pageantry of Śivappanāyaka's court. The State officers and other guests were duly honoured and entertained with shows, dance, music, poetry-reading etc. Thus the king used to cause delight to all the people and ruled over the State of Keḷadi justly. (VII. 6. 108-110).

Śivappa was blessed with a son Bhadrappa. Śivappa as a dutiful father performed all the religious sacraments of his son according to *śāstras*. (110-111). As the son grew up, his marriage also was performed and was given training in all sciences including elephant and horse-lores. (VII. 7. 121-124).

Śivappanāyaka ruled over the country with undaunted courage and extraordinary valour, ably assisted by his brother Vaṅkaṭappa in administration. Our author has praised him by saying that just as the Sun, alongwith his red rays, so also Śivappa protected his kingdom alongwith his brothers. (VII. 14.3, 4).

Once Śivappa held a discussion with his brother regarding the chief of Velāpurī who had usurped the place from the emperor of Vijayanagar. They decided to attack the fortress wherein the enemy was living and restore it back to the king of Vijayanagar. Then appointing his younger brother to look after the administration, he took a big army consisting of chariots, elephants, infantry and cavalry, marched towards the city of Velāpurī and camped outside the ramparts of the city. (5-12).

Śivappanāyaka was well versed in all the tactics of warfare, especially in vanquishing a powerful enemy, staying in a well equipped strong fortress, based on certain astrological calculation (*koṭācakravidhāna*). (102-103). He attacked the fort of Velāpurī, defeated the enemy therein and arrested him. On hearing this heroic feat, the king of Vijayanagar, Śrīraṅga was overwhelmed with joy and came to Velāpurī to meet Sivappanāyaka. He honoured him with many gifts and titles.[24] (103-109).

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24 *STR*, VII. 14. 103-109.
velāpurākhyam prākāram sahasā svyamagrahīt

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STR further adds that Śivappa became very happy because of this great military achievement. Śrīraṅga also was very happy at the recapture of Veḷāpura (Vellore) from where he had been driven out by the enemy. (109-110). Śivappa defeated the other chiefs of Veḷāpura who were rebelling against Śrīraṅga and then returned to his hometown. (111-112).

Eventhough Śivappanāyaka is credited with many heroic achievements by other authorities, our author has described only one military feat of Śivappa.

Śivappanāyaka was very pious and of benevolent nature. He built an *agrahāra* of vast area on the bank of Tuṅgabhadrā river. He distributed lands and money generously to brāhmaṇas and made them happy. He had strong faith in the saying that sacrifices cause clouds (rain) and through clouds (rains) grains are produced in plenty. So he performed sacrifices like the Vājapeya etc. (113-115).

Śivappa constructed many forts in Kerala, renovated old temples, rebuilt tanks and wells. (115-116).

To carry out the worship of gods in the sixteen *kṣetra*s of Śiva, Śivappa granted land and money. (117-121). He saw to it that the worship of gods, the various religious traditions and the practice of making gifts were duly carried on in the *kṣetra* Kāśī. Some of the religious traditions maintained by him are, offering of golden crown to the Lord, observing the festival of lamps by lighting one crore of lamps in the temple. (122-127). To carry out the *ṣoḍaśa upacāra*s (sixteen types of honour) to the deities Rāmeśvara, Jambukeśa, Nañjuṇḍeśvara, Gaṅgādhara, Harihareśvara, deities of Nasik and Tryambaka, he granted large amount of money. (128-130). The tank of Kapiladhārā in Kāśī was repaired. He made arrangements to carry out daily worship in Viṣṇu temples also in places like Śriraṅgam, Kāñcī and other places. Tanks were built for the pilgrims to take bath in these holy places. He renovated the temples in Keḷadi and also the temple of Mūkāmbikā. He fed one lakh and ninetysix thousand brāhmaṇas with rich food and distributed lots of valuable gifts to them as enjoined in the *śāstra*s. (130-135, 144, 145).

We thus find that in *STR*, the author has paid more attention to describe Śivappa's generosity and piety than his military exploits, diplomacy and the famous land revenue system known as Śivappa's *sist*.

Śivappa had another son named Somaśekhara. He entrusted the education of both the sons to his younger brother Veṅkaṭappanāyaka. He taught *yogavidyā* also to his brother. (146-150).

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tato'grahītkareṇaiva ripum tanmadhyavartinam

....

.. *bahudhāmānayamāsa śivabhūpaṃ mahīpatiḥ* ।

STR, VII. 14. 103-109.

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Veṅkaṭappanāyaka II

Veṅkaṭappanāyaka succeeded his elder brother Śivappanāyaka. He is described as a virtuous king who delighted the people with his good administration. He had only one wife (*ekapatnīvratadhara*) and was devoted to truth. (VIII. 1. 5-7).

Two noteworthy contributions of Veṅkaṭappanāyaka to Vīraśaiva faith have been mentioned in *STR*. He started the convention of worshipping and performing *pādapūjā* (worshipping the feet) of *Jaṅgama gurus*. They were considered with reverence as the moving forms of God Śaṅkara. He expounded the faith of *dāsoham* (monistic faith).[25] (10-12).

Thus spending his life in religious pursuits and protecting the people by just means, Veṅkaṭappa declared his elder nephew Bhadrappanāyaka as the king. He taught him the elaborate rules concerned with law and judicial procedure. After fulfilling his life's task, he obtained *Śivayoga*. (13-15).

Bhadrappanāyaka

On the death of Veṅkaṭappanāyaka, his nephew Bhadrappa became the king of Keḷadi. When the feudatory chief of the eastern frontier started rebelling and attacking the ramparts of forts, Bhadrappa attacked him and defeated him. (VIII. 2. 4-7). Likewise, when the feudatory chief of the northern frontier started giving trouble, he was also defeated. But when he took refuge under Bhadrappa, Bhadrappa restored him to his lost position and thus attained glory. (8-9). The Sultan of Bijapur, when he found out that Bhadrappa was irresistible, made treaty with him.[26] (10-11).

Next, the munificent acts of Bhadrappa are described in *STR*. In the place called Tirtharajapura he performed the charity called *Hiraṇyagarbha* to please God. Then on the banks of Śarāvatī, in a place called Rāmacandrapura he performed the charity *Suvarṇatulāpuruṣa*. (12-13). He built three *agrahāras* and named them after his father, uncle and himself. (14-15).

Bhadrappa improved the method of worship of Kṛṣṇa in Uḍupī. Guha in Subrahmaṇyakṣetra, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa in Koṭīśvara and his favourite deity

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25 *Pādapūjāhvayam dharmam nūtanam paryakalpayat*
....
dāsohanamakam dharmam mahāntam paryakalpayat
STR, VIII. 1. 10-12.

26 *vijayākhyapurasthāyī mlecchānāmadhināyakaḥ ..*
bhadrabhūpo na cāsmābhirvijetum śakyate balī
ityālocyāmunā sandhim vidhāya svapuram yayau
—*STR*, VIII. 2. 10-11.

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Mūkāmbikā. (16-17). He constructed *maṭha*s also for the brāhmaṇas and granted lands for their maintenance.

Then considering that his younger brother Somaśekhara had become fit to rule the kingdom, he taught him *dhanurvidyā* (Science of Archery) and handed over the kingdom to him. (19-20).

Somaśekharanāyaka

STR states that when Somaśekharanāyaka ascended the throne of Keḷadi there was injustice everywhere and during the reign of Somaśekhara justice was restored. Then he conquered the chieftains of the frontier regions and other minor kings. He reappointed the refugee kings in their own regions. He was also highly religious like his ancestors. He constructed a beautiful *maṭha* at the rear end of the city. The *viraktas* were provided with another *maṭha* near the city so that their blessings could be sought. A big tank was dug and filled with sweet water for the use of enlightened vīraśaivas (*liṅgāṅgasaṅgī*). Beautiful trees were planted around the lake. (VIII. 5. 1-10).

Somaśekhara got married to Chennammāji who was endowed with all virtues. She had been praised as an incarnation of Goddess Mūkāmbā. The king led a happy life in the company of queen Chennammā. (11-14).

The king had such deep faith in Chennammāji's capacity and wisdom that he advised her to vanquish the Muhammadans who were like the *daitya*s in the kali age and to protect the people like Goddess Mūkāmbā. (15-20). He taught her the methods of performing Śivapūjā as enjoined in the religious texts. (22, 23). He, being childless, adopted Basavappanāyaka (author of *STR*) and performed his coronation.[27] Basavappa who was quite young was entrusted to the care of Chennammāji and she was asked to look after the matters related to the administration etc. till he grew up. Then the king departed to the heavenly abode. (VIII. 7.84-87).

STR is totally silent about Somaśekhara's dealings with the enemies and also his last days when he fell in bad company and became mad.[28] *STR* has just indicated that the State was in a morally depressed condition when he took charge. He initiated his wife into Śaivism and entrusted to her the task of destroying the enemies.

Chennammāji

Chennammāji, wife of Somaśekharanāyaka succeeded her husband and was also a joint-ruler with him for several years. She is revered as one of the interest-

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27 *asmākam ca vidhānena kṛtvā paṭṭābhiṣecanam*
ayam kumaro basavappanāyaka iti smṛtaḥ
STR, VIII. . 85, 86.

28 See *Keḷadi Nṛpa Vijayam*, Mysore, 1921, pp. 22, 29, 30.

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ing personalities in the history of South India. *STR* has mentioned that one would be wonderstruck at the extraordinary life of Chennammāji. (VIII. 8.4).

The heroic queen was ruling over the kingdom perfectly well by means of the four *upāyas*, six *guṇas*, three *śaktis* and seven *aṅgas*. She was practising *Śivadharma* also righteously. She took great interest in bringing up her adopted son Basavarāja and in educating him. She performed the marriage of her son. (5-7).

When the feudatory chiefs of the frontier regions started rebelling and encroaching, the gallant queen sent strong army and defeated them all. She took away elephants, horses and other wealth from the enemies. Thus by defeating these chiefs, she made them all subdue to her rule. (8-11).

Next, our author has described the most memorable incident of Chennammāji's reign, the protection she offered to Rājārāma, the son of Śivāji. When he was pursued by the Musalman chief Varangakhan by the command of the Mughal emperor Aurangazeb, he could not find shelter anywhere. Then queen Chennammā held a secret discussion with her ministers and offered shelter to Rājarāma and treated him with honour and respect. She struck a severe blow on the Mughal armies and won a victory over them. This extraordinary courage brought her fame and she was praised all over India.[29] (12-26).

The Mughal emperor, on hearing the heroic feat of Chennammā was greatly pleased and honoured her by sending horses, ornaments, clothes, etc. as gifts. Her kingdom became free from enemies during her reign. (27-28). When her minor feudatory chiefs evinced hostility, she reduced them to subjugation. (28).

She was a builder and patron of religion. She gave extensive lands to Goddess Mūkāmbā and founded an *agrahāra* naming it Chennambāpura after herself. She built several *maṭhas* for the *Jaṅgamas* and encouraged the worship of *Liṅga* and *Jaṅgama*. She fed one lakh and ninetysix thousand *Jaṅgamas* delicious food. Thus she received the blessings of the *Jaṅgamas*. Feeding the guests with great devotion was her supreme *dharma*.[30] (31-35).

With this description of Chennamma's reign, the historical account of the Keḷadi dynasty is concluded in *STR*. Though the account is very brief and is not exhaustive, it has been considered by several authorities as an important source of Keḷadi history.

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29 This event is immortalized in the folk literature of Karnataka and is popular even today.

30 *idam sarveṣu dharmeṣu samutkṛṣṭatamam*
santarpaṇam param bhaktyā yacchaivānāmabhīpsitaiḥ
STR. VIII. 8. 35.

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3. ORIGIN OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

Basavarāja has included an account of the origin of Vijayanagara empire. Among the many theories with regard to the foundation of Vijayanagara, our author seems to have accepted the theory that Vidyāraṇya was its founder.

According to *STR*, when the empire of Sāketa came to an end, the saint Vidyāraṇya selected the town of Cakrapura in the south for Harihara's capital. In this town, Goddess Śrīdevī had been residing for the past thousand years. (IV. 12. 4, 5).

Next, we find an interesting account related to the life of sage Vidyāraṇya. He was a poor brahmin named Śivadharma and had a large family to support. He was leading a miserable life due to poverty. Once he met an ascetic who belonged to the heritage of Śaṅkarācārya of Revaṇasiddha *sampradāya* and told him about himself. Then the ascetic initiated him in the practice of Śrīvidyā and chanting of the sixteen syllabled *mantra*. The brahmin performed the *pūjā* with great devotion and did penance. But when he realised that the Goddess was not pleased and when he was about to burn the Śrīcakra, the Goddess appeared before him in the form of aged Mātaṅgī. (6-14).

Then at the command of the Goddess when the brahmin turned behind, he saw eleven burning mountains. When he was perplexed, he was told that the sins committed by him in eleven previous births are getting burnt and that in the next birth he will obtain all his desires. When the *guru* was informed of this incident, he advised the poor brahmin to reap the fruits in this birth itself by taking up *sannyāsa*. The poor brahmin became a *sannyāsin* immediately under the name Vidyāraṇya and received from his teacher as a gift the sacred *liṅga* of Candramauliśvara which originally belonged to Revaṇasiddha. (15-23).

Vidyāraṇya then went to Badarī Āśrama, the residence of Vyāsa. By the grace of Vyāsa, he acquired knowledge of all sciences and an insight into past, present and future history of things. Then he returned to the south and settled down at the sacred spot of Pampā, the seat of Virūpākṣa. He was daily worshipping the Lord at the temple. Once God Śiva appearing in a dream told him that two great men would soon arrive and for their sake he should establish a kingdom in order to suppress the *Mlecchas* and *Kirātas* who have been troubling the world. (24-29).

One day, there came from Ujjain, on pilgrimage to Virūpakṣa, two kṣatriya brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who had been formerly officers in charge of treasury at the palace of Vīrarudra and had left the territory when their king was vanquished by the enemies. (29-31).

The brothers also were informed by Lord Śiva in their dreams that a great ascetic is expected to establish an empire for their sake. (32-33). When the

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three of them met and were discussing about planning a city, a shepherd appeared before them and directed them to the temple of Mahālakṣmī on a mountain at the southern bank of River Tuṅgabhadrā. On reaching the place and offering worship to the Goddess, they were informed by a celestial voice that the shepherd should be sacrificed as an offering before starting the empire. The shepherd readily agreed to this on condition that the future kings of the empire who would be thirteen in number should add his name (*Oḍeyar*) after theirs. Then he approached the image of the Goddess and disappeared. Then the Goddess commanded Vidyāraṇya to build a city there in the form of Śrīcakra and said that there will be invisible shower of gold in the city for three and three-fourth *ghaṭikā*. (36-49).

Sage Vidyāraṇya built a beautiful city as commanded by the Goddess and coronated Harihara. He efficiently ruled over the kingdom and destroyed all the enemies. He honoured Vidyāraṇya with many titles and offered him wealth. Since then, thirteen kings making use of the name of the gallant shepherd as their surname ruled over the kingdom efficiently. (49-53).

STR has given the names of the thirteen kings who ruled over Vijayanagara for 232 years. They are : Harihara, Bukka, Harihara, Virūpākṣa, Bukka, Deva, Rāmarāja, Virūpākṣa, Deva, Virūpākṣa, Marapa, Rāma and Virūpākṣa (54-56).

The names of the next seven kings and the number of years they ruled over Vijayanagara are also given : Prauḍha ruled for twelve years, Vīraṇṛsimharāja for ten years, Salvaṇṛsimha for twelve years, Acyuta for three years, Kṛṣṇa for forty years, Sadāśiva for two years and Rāmarāja for twentyfour years. (57-59).

Inclusion of the above account in *STR* by our author bears testimony to the fact that Keḷadi chiefs were always loyal and grateful to the Vijayanagar kings even after their becoming independent. Moreover, eventhough the above account appears to be an ordinary popular legend, historians have accepted it as an important evidence to establish a few facts. It establishes the prevalence of Revaṇasiddha *sampradāya* in Śṛṅgeri *maṭha* and that the Candramaulīśvaraliṅga—the main object of worship in Śṛṅgerimaṭha was given by Revaṇasiddha.[31] In this connection, the enlightening statement of the editor of *STR*, H. Krishnasastry of the Archaeological Department of Madras State, in his introduction to *STR* (Madras edition) is noteworthy.

4. CONCLUSION

STR is an important literary source of information about historical events and is very useful particularly as a source of Keḷadi history. Though the account found in it is not exhaustive it is however useful in giving us several pieces of

31 cf. T. N. Mallappa, " Establisher of Vijayanagar Empire ", *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. LX, p. 75.

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information about the political history of the rulers down to the times of the author Basavappanāyaka I.

A general survey based on the historical account given in *STR* reveals the following facts which establish *STR* as a valuable source book of history.

From the description of *Malladeśa* in *STR*, one can get an idea of the topography of the Malnad country where the monarchs of Keḷadi ruled. It was a beautiful country, rich in all natural resources and where arts religion flourished. The brief account in *STR* about the foundation of Keḷadi empire throws light on the fact that the founders belonged to a family of agriculturists and that they were Vīraśaivas and devotees of Śiva. The Keḷadi State was founded as a feudatory one owing allegiance to the Vijayanagar emperors but in course of time it grew and expanded as an independent empire. But unlike the other contemporary rulers under Vijayanagar, the Keḷadi kings were never disloyal to the overlords and were always ready to extend a helping hand to their past suzerains. Even after the Vijayanagar emperors had lost their political power, they were held in high esteem by the Keḷadi rulers.

The author has not forgotten to record the services rendered by Sadāśivanāyaka to the Vijayanagar kingdom under Aliya Rāmarāya in beseiging Bijapur and vanquishing the Kerala king. The evidence for faithful allegiance of Śivappanāyaka is also provided by the author. This Keḷadi chief took the cause of Śrīraṅga, the Emperor of Vijayanagara and attacked Vellore.

There was constant threat from the neighbouring states. Feudatory chiefs from the frontier provinces gave trouble now and then. But the Keḷadi kings were shrewed and diplomatic in the dealings with their enemies. The state preserved the tradition of heroism and military tactics. The fighting forces could be effectively mobilised. They knew when to make treaties with the enemies, whom to shelter and how to honour the refugees.

The Keḷadi rulers were righteous and they tried to rule the people righteously. They considered preservation of *dharma* as the important duty of the kings. This was carried out in different ways, namely by the performance of great sacrifices, making great gifts, construction and renovation of temples, granting of villages and lands, visiting pilgrim centres, patronising different faiths, granting of *agrahāra*s to brāhmaṇas, lands to *jaṅgama*s and digging up wells and tanks.

The Keḷadi kings were patrons of art and literature. Many poets, scholars and writers were patronised and encouraged to write valuable literary as well as religious works. *STR* supplies much information on the monuments of the Keḷadi chiefs, their literary and religious activities.

STR tells us about the rule of succession followed by the Keḷadi rulers. The general rule was that the son should succeed his father. But in exceptional

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cases, as in the case of the king remaining childless, or the sons being not capable of administration or the sons remaining too young to shoulder the responsibilities, then the kings used to bequeath their kingdom to their younger brothers (as in the case of Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa bequeathing his kingdom to Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa and Bhadrappa to Somaśekhara). In case the direct heir failed, then the succession of collateral heirs to the throne was permitted (as in the case of Chikkasaṅkaṇṇanāyaka succeeded by his nephew Rāmarājanāyaka). In the absence of direct or collateral heirs, adoption of a son was also in vogue (as in the case of our author Basavarāja adopted as heir by Somaśekhara). Sometimes the ruler was succeeded by his wife also (as in the case of Chennammāji). Joint-rule also was there as in the case of Somaśekhara assisted by Chennammāji.

From the graphic description of the royal court of Śivappanāyaka we are able to guess the pomp and pageantry of the court of Keḷadi and the luxurious life led by the members of the royal family.

The office of *Yuvarāja* was important in the Keḷadi administration and the general practice was to nominate the younger brothers as the *yuvarājas*. When Doḍḍasaṅkaṇṇa was the king, his brother Chikkasaṅkaṇṇa was declared the heir apparent. On the whole, the Keḷadi rulers were enlightened monarchs who strived for the welfare of the people and the country.

Most of the above information related to the Keḷadi kings is corroborated by other authorities also. Considering all these, none can deny the fact that *STR* is an important source book of the history of Keḷadi.

Although the description of the origin of Vijayanagara dynasty in *STR* is described in the puranic style, it supplies some valuable information about the famous Śṛṅgeri *maṭha*. As already pointed out, the above description proves the loyalty and sense of gratitude cherished by the Keḷadi rulers towards the Vijayanagara kings.

Our author, by alluding to the founders of Vijayanagara empire has attributed the founding of the city of Vijayanagara to Vidyāraṇya himself. To that extent, it may be taken as supporting further the conclusion that Vidyāraṇya was one of the founders responsible for the building of the city. The historians may find some satisfaction in the traditional account in which Basavarāja has described the incident which made the Vijayanagara kings add the name Odeyar after their names. At the end of *Kallola* IV, the author has cited a *Vidyāraṇya-kṛti* as one of his sources.[32] Probably, it may be the *Rājakālanirṇaya*.

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32 *vidyāraṇyakṛtim caiva* —
—*STR*, Vol. I, p. 298 (Mysore Edition).

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STR is one of the rare works in Sanskrit which narrates the historical account of the land where the author lived. It is almost the only work in Sanskrit giving the history of the family of a local chieftaincy in Karnataka. One of the special features of *STR* which differentiates it from other similar works is the selection by the author of the historical accounts related to the author's dynasty as the main theme of the voluminous work and also the inclusion of an account of the foundation of Vijayanagar Empire alongwith the lineage of its monarchs. These features and with a few others in *STR* serve as very important sources of both political and religious history of India. Hence the historic value of STR for the common man is, no doubt, immense. Historians can find lots of material in STR based on which they can reconstruct the history of India and particularly of Karnataka.

The author Basavarāja deserves all admiration when he presents himself as a collector, narrator and interpreter of facts while describing the events related to the chiefs of Keḷadi. His skill in furnishing the incidents in the form of an enchanting *ākhyāna* is revealed throughout *STR*. This particular portion of *STR* containing the above mentioned topics will serve as a beautiful specimen of *ākhyānakāvya* which could be credited to the glory of Sanskrit literature.

The above mentioned portions of *STR* throw light on the social and cultural conditions of the time also. The history of Keḷadi dynasty is dove-tailed with the description of the special contribution of the kings to the religious and cultural values of Karnataka in an excellently picturesque manner. Hence any history of Karnataka, be it political, religious or cultural, is incomplete without a thorough study of this great work, *STR*.

The contribution of Keḷadi Basavarāja, the author of *STR* to the field of Sanskrit literature, to the history of Karnataka and to the history of Hindu religion is indeed praiseworthy.

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MARITIME TRADE OF BHAVANAGAR STATE IN 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES †

By

S. V. JANI*

Bhavnagar was the third important state of Saurashtra, the first two being Junagadh and Jamnagar. It was ruled by the Gohils. Hence it was popularly known as Gohilwad. The 18th Century denotes the beginning of the decline of the Mughal Empire and the growth of the Maratha power. The 19th Gohil Chief Bhavsinhji (1703-1764) drove back the first Maratha inroad in 1722 and saved his capital, Shihor from being taken.[1] The wise ruler Bhavsinhji found his capital vulnerable and so he founded Bhavnagar in 1723 and made it his capital. The founding of the city of Bhavnagar is the beginning of the growth of trade and commerce of Bhavnagar State. Bhavnagar speedily became a port of importance. It attracted the trade previously monopolised by Cambay, Gogha and Surat.[2] The 18th and 19th centuries are very important in the history of Bhavnagar state because its rulers during these centuries tried to flourish the state by developing the trade.

From ancient times Saurashtra has a flourishing maritime trade with the coastal ports of India and the ports of Ceylon, East Indies, Middle East and Europe. Its prosperity due to progressive and profitable trade was one of the important causes of the Muslim invasion. The traders of Gujarat and Saurashtra had a very good reputation in the world. Vigorous commercial activity had taken place under the Sultans in Gujarat. Their income collected from the tradesmen was lucrative. That's why Sikandar Lodi used to say that the income of the Badshah of Delhi depends on Wheat and Juwar while that of the Sultan of Gujarat upon the trade of pearls.

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The 17th, 18th and 19th centuries were respectively the centuries of the Mughals, the Marathas and the Britishers. In Mughal and British period, due to peace and order trade and industry flourished, but due to Maratha inroads in the 18th century the trade deteriorated.

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Saurashtra had many ancient towns and ports like Prabhas-Patan, Mangrol, Dwarka, Gogha etc. But Bhavnagar, the new capital of the Gohils, became so prosperous and rich that the other ports and towns were kept behind in the race of progress.

Factors responsible for the development of the maritime trade of Bhavnagar State:—

Far sighted Rulers :

The rulers of the State were far righted. They had tried their best to establish an effective government. They knew, as W. W. Rostow has emphasized, that the establishment of an effective government sympathetic to the process of economic development was the important pre-condition for sustained economic development.[3]

If the rulers fail to play their proper role the state remains backward economically. The rulers of Bhavnagar could visualize the importance of the maritime trade. Bhavsinhji was the first ruler who thought that without the town of maritime facilities the trade cannot prosper and necessary reforms also cannot be done.[4] Hence he founded Bhavnagar in 1723. When Bhavnagar was founded Surat was the great emporium of trade, next to it came Cambay.[5] While Gogha was the most important port on the coast of Saurashtra.

As a means of advancing the commercial interests of Bhavnagar as against those of Gogha, Bhavsinhji cultivated friendship of Sohrabkhan, the Governor of Surat.[6] He promised to pay him 1.25% of the sea customs revenue of Bhavnagar port as the price of protection from the enmity of the Nawab of Cambay.[7] Both also agreed to suppress the piracy prevailing around the coast of Saurashtra.[8] Afterwards when Sohrabkhan had taken possession of Gogha, he granted a share in its customs to his friend and ally Bhavsinhji. Thus Bhavsinhji's ambition was fulfilled and Bhavnagar ceased to suffer from the rivalry of Gogha.[9]

In 17th century Gujarat was the gateway of western Asia and Africa. Surat in Gujarat was the principal stronghold where the battle for primacy in trade was fought among the European powers in which the English succeeded.[10] In 1759, Surat was occupied by the English. Bhavsinhji wisely continued the alliance with the new masters of Surat. This policy paid dividends in future also.

When, in 1771, the English made a treaty with Mominkhan of Cambay, it was decided that he would neither interfere in the port of Bhavnagar nor enhance its dues. Akherajji (1764-72) had helped the army of peshwa to snatch Gogha from Mominkhan. For this help he got certain tributes. He also helped the English to suppress the Koli pirates of Talaja which was purchased in Rs. 75000/-[11] by Wakhatsinhji (1772-1816). Wakhatsinhji succeeded in terminating the hold of the Kolis on the sea coast. As a result the trade of Bhavnagar increased.

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After the treaty of Bassein (1802) Dhandhuka, Ranpur and Gogha were given to the English. Hence the British officials at Gogha, in 19th century, desired to enhance the importance of that port at the cost of Bhavnagar. For that many taxes and duties were imposed on the trade flowing to it. Wajesinhji (1816-52), unwillingly agreed to relinquish all the claims to any share in the land or sea customs at Gogha for a sum of Rs. 4000/- only in 1839.[12] In the rule of Takhtsinhji (1869-96) new agreements concerning salt and opium, the two state monopolies were entered into with the British Government.

Natural Facilities :

Bhavnagar was and is a natural port situated on the West side of the Gulf of Cambay. It is 225 Kms. north of Bombay. It was founded in 1723. The depth of water at this port was minimum 22.10 feet and maximum 54.27 feet in 1878. This port became one of the most developed ports of Saurashtra because of its geographical situation, transport facilities and a commodious creek.

Expenditure of large sums in the city :

From 1723 to 1948 for 225 years Bhavnagar remained the Capital of the State. It being a capital large amount of money was spent for various activities. The population of the state also increased ten times in 100 years. It was about 50,000 in 1800 and about 5 lakh 20 thousand in 1900. By the end of the 18th century, out of the income of Rs. 7 lakhs, Rs. 1 lakh was spent in the city.[13] In 1930 the income and expenditure of Bhavnagar state were Rs. 1,85,80,729 and Rs. 1,40,63,597, respectively.[14] Thus the yearly expenditure of large sums on the city by the rulers, his ministers, the court and the people caused that port to attract to itself some portion of the trade of both Gogha and Dholera.[15]

Enterprising Community :

Bhavnagar had long been famous as a trading centre. From very early days it has had an enterprising and thriving commercial community trading far into the hinterland of India and across the seas. The main communities were the Bhatias, the Lohanas, the Banias, the Khojas, the Bohras and the Kharwas. They were given encouragement by the rulers of the state. In 18th and 19th centuries Bhavnagar had trade connections with Pali, Jodhpur, Sirohi, Udaipur, Jaipur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Burhanpur, Indore, Ahmedabad, Patan, Radhanpur, Palanpur, Vadnagar, Visnagar, Siddhpur etc. It traded outside India also with the foreign ports of Mocha, Jiddah, Muscut, Basara, Zanzibar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Singapur, Penang, Ceylon and the ports of China and India.[16]

The rich and influential caste of Nagar Brahmins, whose Headquarter formerly was at Gogha, were gradually attracted to Bhavnagar by the hope of state service which was liberally accorded them. It induced them to settle in Bhavnagar to such an extent that their number increased in Bhavnagar than in Gogha.[17] The famous Diwan of Bhavnagar, Mr. Gaurishanker Oza was born

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in the same caste at Gogha. He was mainly instrumental for the excellent administration of the State.

Ship-building industry and cheap labour :

These two factors also contributed in the growth of trade. Ships were made from the teak wood. They were cheap and durable. In those days India had a prosperous shipping industry.[18] Ship building was so excellent in India that the Indian ships sailed to the Thames in company with British-built ships.[19] Bhavnagar had the advantage of cheap labour, comparatively lower land rents and easy availability of open space.[20]

Deplomatic measures :

In the beginning of the 18th century Surat and Cambay were the great emporiums of trade and so little trade was attracted to Bhavnagar. But the ruler of Bhavnagar, Bhavsinhji (1703-64) showed political wisdom by making a treaty with the Sidi Admiral of Surat. He sought the protection of sea trade by paying 1.25% of the income of his customs.

Moreover the wise ruler of Bhavnagar accepted the demand of the business-men of Gogha and granted them facilities for export at concessional rates.[21] Gogha had become a victim of successive adventures of the Mughals, the Babis and the Marathas. In the condition of political turmoil Bhavsinhji spared no pains to draw all trade thither to his capital. He established Bhavnagar's superiority over Gogha by spending large amount of money on the development of the port and granting concessions to the traders of Gogha. As a result, the work houses of Gogha were deserted and its famous seamen had, by the beginning of the 19th century, become only a shadow of what they once were.[22]

Thus Bhavnagar by lowering its customs and encouraging merchants obtained for itself a monopoly of trade of neighbouring peninsula. Since then Bhavnagar has never relaxed its efforts to promote the trade aided by the progress of civilization and the increasing cultivation of the interior. By 1910 it had an import trade of Rs. 60 lakhs and export trade of Rs. 100 lakhs.[23]

British Ports Treaty :

The maritime trade of the states of Saurashtra was profitable till the end of the 19th century. They had the right to levy, collect and retain the customs revenue. In 1860, the wise Diwan of Bhavnagar, Gaurishanker Oza entered into a treaty with the British Government that Bhavnagar will impose at its ports tariff prevalent at the British Indian ports. In return Bhavnagar got the benefits of a British Indian Customs port. It gave it a distinct advantage over many of the ports of Saurashtra because by this treaty no duty was to be levied on the goods re-exported in British India outside Bhavnagar. By another treaty of 1863, other ports of Bhavnagar state were also included in this category.

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Peace and security :

Law and order are the essentials for progress. Till the end of 18th century disorder was prevailing in Saurashtra due to distressing Mulkgiri expeditions of the Marathas. But the famous Walker settlement of 1807 ushered in the age of peace in Saurashtra. Piracy was also a hindrance to maritime trade. The rulers of Bhavnagar joined hands with the Britishers to suppress the Koli pirates of Talaja. For his successful efforts to root-out piracy Wakhatsinhji was congratulated by Bombay Government.[24] The pirates were defeated and the west coast of Saurashtra became free from piracy. As a result, not only the trademen of Bhavnagar but also of the whole of western coast were benefitted.[25]

Construction of Railways :

Trade follows transport. The better the means of transport, the greater is the trade.[26] The first railway line in Saurashtra was the extension of B.B.C I. Railway to Wadhwan in 1873. Bhavnagar wanted to construct a railway joining Bhavnagar with Wadhwan. But the then Governor of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple, proposed to link the line with Gogha and not Wadhwan. But the joint administrator Gaurishanker Oza opposed it, because it was detrimental to the commerce of Bhavnagar.[27] Ultimately Oza's view was accepted and Bhavnagar-Wadhwan railway was completed in 1880. It proved a blessing in the severe famine years of 1899-1900. As a result trade once more began to circulate and bring wealth to the rulers and the people.[28]

Expansion of Trade centres :

The first important port of Bhavnagar State was Bhavnagar itself founded in 1723. The other ports are Talaja (Sartanpur), Mahuva, Kathiwadar, Port Albert Victor (Pipavav) and Sundrai. These ports are of less importance. After suppressing the pirates of Talaja, it was purchased by paying Rs. 75000/-, while Mahuva was conquered. Albert Victor (Duke of Clarence) visited Bhavnagar in 1890 and laid the foundation stone of the new harbour works at Pipavav. In commemoration of the occassion the port pipavav was renamed port Albert victor.[29] Thus the rulers of Bhavnagar had opened many trade centres. To forsake the trade of Bhavnagar and to develop the trade of Dholera and Gogha, the British Government had granted many concessions to the traders. But the rulers of Bhavnagar slowly and steadily succeeded in attracting the trade of Gogha and Dholera to such an extent that they obtained the monopoly of the trade of neighbouring portion of the peninsula.

Import and Export Trade :

The main items of import at Bhavnagar were grocery, metal, sugar, timber, dates, betel-nut, coconut, grains etc., while the main export was of cotton, grain, oil, oil-seeds, wool, iron-ore, onions and salt. Cotton had the first place among the exports. Due to civil war in the U.S.A., England could not get the cotton

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of U.S.A. and hence the prices of cotton increased, from Rs. 150/- to Rs. 800 to 900 per Khandi. At that time the state collected 25% of the crops as "Rajbhag" and hence the state also was benefitted. Moreover good crop of cotton continued and hence the farmers were becoming prosperous. It is said that they had so much of abundant money that they were fitting rupee coins on their carts in place of cheap metal round pieces called Phunddis.[30]

Bhavnagar port had surpassed all the ports of Saurashtra in economic progress. The total income of the Ports of Saurashtra was Rs. 28,42,555. 62% of it, that is Rs. 17,57,487 was claimed by Bhavnagar.[31] In 1874-75, 4655 vessels (77,173.5 tonnage) arrived at Bhavnagar and 4663, Vessels (75666.5 tonnage) departed from Bhavnagar port.[34]

Thus Bhavnagar during 18th and 19th centuries came out as one of the most important ports and trade centres of Saurashtra. The wise rulers of Bhavnagar could withstand the rivalry of Cambay, Dholera and Gogha and ultimately they succeeded in obtaining the monopoly of the trade of neighbouring portion of the peninsula. To counter the rivalry of Cambay the rulers of Bhavnagar first befriended the Mughal Governor of Surat and afterwards the British Governor. They joined hands with the English to root out piracy which was a hindrance to the maritime trade. For their success they were congratulated by the British Govt. Consequently the tradesmen of Bhavnagar and also of the whole western coast were benefitted. This security helped in developing trade. Bhavnagar was the first state in Saurashtra to sign British Ports treaty and accept uniform tariff policy. The rulers of Bhavnagar also gave concessions to the traders of Gogha and developed other minor ports. Thus Bhavnagar State played proper and important role in the development of its maritime trade.

APPENDIX-I

Place of Bhavnagar in the trade of Saurashtra, year-1879-80

Name of the Port	Import Rs.	Export Rs.
Bhavnagar	77,91,030	48,82,290
Mahuva	25,81,890	23,23,440
Veraval	27.98,940	08,35,530
Bedi	13,58,640	04,19,390
Porbandar	04,70,430	02,88,095
Salaya	04,17,860	03,55.630
Talaja	01,51,670	01,18,440
Navibandar	02,30,050	00,51,470
Jodiya	07,43,200	06,17,600
Mangrol	07,34,390	00,77,035

Source :—Rajgor, S.—Gujaratna Vahanvatano Itihas, B. S. Rajgor, Ahmedabad, 1976, P. 154

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APPENDIX-II

Tonnage Chart of Bhavnagar, year 1874-75

No.	Ports	Vessels arrived at Bhavnagar		Vessels departed from Bhavnagar	
		No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage
1.	Kachh Ports Kathi ports	3	99.50	—	—
9.	Kathi ports having British priviledges	1960	14994.00	1882	14376.15
12.	Other Kathi ports	43	1291.00	30	725.50
2.	Portuguese ports	43	998.75	8	165.75
22.	Gujarat	1502	21664.00	1783	28053.50
1.	Bombay	610	22976.25	643	24165.75
13.	Konkan Ports	275	4739.50	204	2622.50
5.	Madras ports	112	5728.50	28	1433.00
2.	Karachi etc.	105	4487.50	85	4123.75
1.	Persian gulf	2	194.50	—	—
68.	Total	4655	77173.50	4663	75666.50

Source :—Watson, J. W.—Statistical Accounts of Bhavnagar, State Printing Press, Bhavnagar, 1910, p. 19.

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REVIEWS

Freedom, Transcendence And Identity, Essays in Memory of Prof. Kalidas Bhattacharyya, Edited by PRADIP KUMAR SENGUPTA, Published by Indian Council of Philosophical Research in Association with Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, 1988, pp. i-viii + 1-222, Price : Rs. 135/-.

The work under review is the commemoration volume in honour of Professor Kalidas Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya (1911-1984), a distinguished philosopher of modern India, proficient in both Oriental and Occidental traditions of thought. He was a prolific writer of great authority, possessing as he did a penetrating insight in classical as well as modern philosophical treatises. Though he was not committed to any tenet or dogma, which is a mark of a true philosopher, in his evaluation the Indian concepts of total man, freedom and transcendence so ably propounded by the sages of the Upaniṣadic age, are unique contribution to the philosophical thought of the world. He rendered his services to Vishva Bharati University, Shantiniketana, as the Director, Centre of Advanced Studies in Philosophy, Vice-Chancellor and later as Professor Emeritus. He was a Fellow of the Indian Council of Philosophical Research, New Delhi. He cherished the experiential insights of the ancient Indian seers and the ideals of Ravindranath Tagore, derived from them. He sought to develop further their philosophical concepts, inasmuch as, he endeavoured to explicate them in the light of modern Western theories, and present them in their terminology. The contributors seem to have consciously chosen to write on cognate topics, keeping in centre Professor Bhattacharyya's cherished philosophical theme. Thus all the articles evince evidently or indirectly the Indian context, so dear to Professor Bhattacharyya. The following fourteen articles are contained in the present work :

1. *Alternative Standpoints : At the Foundation and Culmination of Kalidas Bhattacharyya's Philosophy*, by Shefali Moitra.
2. *Maharshi Debendranath Tagore as a Philosopher*, by Amiyakumar Mazumdar.
3. *The Ontology of Freedom*, by Mrinalkanti Bhadra.
4. *Sri Aurobindo on Integral Consciousness : Where the East meets the West*. by Manoranjan, Basu.
5. *An Emergence from Nothing*, by Ramakant Sinari.
6. *From Sāṁkhya to Buddhism*, by S. J. Chakravarty
7. *The Ātman Model and the Question of Human Person*, by Debabrata Sinha.
8. *Nyāya Critique of the Bhuddhist Doctrine of Non-Soul*, by Bimal Krishna Matilal.

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9. *Mokṣa and Science*, by Kalyankumar Bagchi.
10. *Karman-Rebirth : Buddhism*, by Biswanath Banerjee.
11. *Transcendence in Visual Art : Perspectives in the Experiments of Rabindranath Tagore*, by Pradip Kumar Sengupta.
12. *Man and Religion in Tagore's Philosophy*, by G. C. Nayak.
13. *The Emotivist Hume*, by Rajendraprasad.
14. *Some Indian Theories of the Body*, by Sibajiban Bhattacharyya.

All the articles are well-authenticated and scholarly; they are readable and lucid at the same time.

Prof. Santwana Majumdar has prepared a detailed compilation of Bhattacharyya's articles, viz., *List of Publications of Kalidas Bhattacharyya.*

This list enlists books, articles, lectures and addresses by Kalidas Bhattacharyya written in Bengali and in English. It also records books and Journals edited by him and in collaboration with other scholars.

The book is aesthetically designed and produced taste-fully.

It is beyond doubt that the work will be received well in scholarly circles and by the students of philosophy and will occupy its legitimate place in the vast literature existing in the form of commemorative volumes.

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R. T. VYAS

The Basic Ways of Knowing, (*An In-depth Study of Kumārila's Contribution to Indian Epistemology*), by GOVARDHAN P. BHATT, Pub. : M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Second Revised Edition, 1989. pp i-xxviii + 1-435, Price : Rs. 175/-,

The original title of the work was, *Epistemology of the Bhātta School of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā*. It was presented to the Banaras Hindu University and was approved by it. The author was awarded the degree of Ph.D. in the year 1956. Its first edition was published from Varanasi in 1962. This is second revised edition.

Kumārila Bhatt wrote, *Ślokavārttika* on the section, *tarkapāda* of *Śābarabhāṣya*, a lucid and learned commentary by Śabarācārya on Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsāsūtras*. Jaimini's *sūtras* are mainly concerned with the exposition of Vedic rituals. As such, they do not contain any germs of philosophical thought. But Kumārila had to encounter the dialectical polemic initiated by Bhuddhist thinkers such as Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti, who denied the validity of knowledge

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derived from the Vedas and the existence of external objects. To set aside their specious arguments, he wrote his *Ślokavārttika* in verse. In writing it, his central thrust was to enunciate self-validity of all knowledge, especially of that derived from the Vedas. Still however, he, apart from dealing with the six sources of valid knowledge, like perception, inference and others, treated thoroughly for the first time the fundamental epistemological problems of the nature and form of knowledge, its relation to reality, criterion of true and erroneous knowledge and above all *Śabdanityatva* and the self-validity of knowledge. It was on this foundational ground-work, that Śaṅkarācārya constructed the magnificant superstructure of the insuperable Vedic philosophy of non-dualism. So far as the *Vyāvahārika* truth and the interpretation of Vedic texts was concerned, Śaṅkara and his followers explicitly and totally relied on the epistemology provided by Kumārila : *Vyavahāre Bhāttanyāyaḥ*. This shows the sharp dialectical acumen and power of argumentation of Kumārila in propounding the realism under the weight of which the main tenets of idealistic Bhuddhism, namely no-self theory or *anātmavāda*, subjectivism or *Vijñānavāda*, and momentariness or *Kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda* crumbled down for good.

Kumārila's realistic philosophical position is eminently reasonable in accepting both the *ātman* and the empirical transactions of the world. In some respects, it is much superior, to use Murti's words, to that of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. It steers clear of the Bhuddhist stand that denies the reality of substance, *dharmī*, of the whole *avayavī*, of the universal, *Sāmānya*, on the one hand and the extreme view of the advaita-Vedānta that denies ultimate reality of qualities, *dharma*, the parts, *avayavas* and the particular, *vyakti*. Kumārila admits the reality of both the permanent and the momentary, of substance and attributes, of the whole and parts and of the universal as well as the particular.

The realistic stand, combined with the acceptance of the utilitarian viewpoint, extending as it does to all human activities seeking to fulfill aspirations relating to this as well as the other world, makes it necessary for Kumārila to admit six sources of valid knowledge. *Śabda* or the scripture reveals objects and entities that are unseen, *adṛṣṭa*. The other five *pramāṇas* are ineffectual in the ascertainment of this unseen. This exigency leads him to examine closely the nature and scope of all the six *pramāṇas*. During this process of examination he has to contend with Cārvakas who accept only *pratyakṣa*, sense-perception, with Bhuddhists and Vaiśeṣikas who admit *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, inference, with Sāṁkhyas who admit *śabda*, in addition to the two, with *Nyāya*-followers who accept *Upamāna*, comparison in addition to the earlier three, with Prabhākara who accepts *arthāpatti*, presumption with all the four and while setting their arguments to rest, he propounds sixth means of valid knowledge by showing that *anupalabdhi* or non-apprehension becomes a source of valid knowledge when all

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the five means of knowledge fail to prove the existence of some object. The determination of non-existence of certain entity needs the last *pramāṇa*. These six *pramāṇas* scan the entire gamut of objects, seen or unseen, manifest or non-manifest. So comprehensive is this *pramāṇa*-system enunciated by Kumārila that not only the Advaita-Vedānntins, but all seekers of scientific or philosophic truth in India subsequently have subscribed to it. The author, therefore, has rightly pointed out that Kumārila's epistemology is an outstanding contribution that India made to the philosophical thought of the world and as such ranks with the logic or Nyāya, the categories of Vaiśeṣika, Cosmology of Sāṁkhya, metaphysics of Advaita-Vedānta and the ethics of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

The book is divided into three parts and fourteen chapters which are again divided into several sections. Part I deals with the general problem of the nature of knowledge, truth and error. Part II discusses at great lenght the central theme, namely, Sources of valid knowledge and Part III treats the questions regarding substance, self and universal. The Bibliography and Index have increased the value and utility of the work for scholars and students.

Since the author has throughout relied on the original texts as his primary source of information and has also taken into account the secondary sources, the work is authentic and objective. His deep insight into the subject and his scholarship are evident in all major discussions. The work, as a whole, fills a lacuna felt so far in the literature on Indian philosophy. It is destined to occupy a place of pride among philosophical treatises which it inherently deserves.

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Saṁskṛta Sāhitya ko Islāma Paraṁparā kā Yogadāna (संस्कृत साहित्य को इस्लाम परंपरा का योगदान) [Contribution of Islam Tradition to Sanskrit Literature], edited by DR. RADHA VALLABH TRIPATHI, published by Doctor Harisingh Gour Vishva-vidyalaya (Sagar University) (M.P.); First Edition, 1986, pp. viii + 2 + 268. Rs. 75/-.

The book under review contains the proceedings of and papers presented at the U.G.C. (New Delhi)—Sponsored research-Seminar on the contribution of Islamic tradition to Sanskrit Literature held on 20, 21 and 22 September, 1986.

The purpose of the seminar was three fold, *viz.* "(1) search and evaluation of the vast Sanskrit Literature—a neglected area—during the Mughal period, (2) proper understanding of the history, culture and tradition through this

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literature and the refutation of popular unsound beliefs and views and (3) the proper appreciation of the dynamic background of the Asian culture in its larger aspect." (Preface, p. 5).

It will not be out of place to refer here to "*Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Literature*" by J. B. Chaudhuri and "*the Contribution of Muslims to Sanskrit*" by Satya Vrat Shastri (Dr. K. Nath Memorial Lecture, Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1977) which deal with this neglected area of Sanskrit Literature and in this context the present work under review is a welcome addition to this literature.

The papers in this book are collected into three groups :—(i) Tradition and History, (ii) Literature and (iii) Philosophy and Fine Arts. Papers in this book are in three languages (i) Hindi, (ii) Sanskrit and (iii) English.

The group I contains the following papers :—

(i) उपक्रम by Prof. Radha Vallabh Tripathi.
(ii) संस्कृति, संस्कृत और इस्लाम by Prof. Shyamacharan Dube
(iii) दिङ्निर्देशः by Pt. Gulam Dastgir Abbasali Birajdar
(iv) निकष — by Prof. Vidya Nivas Mishra
(v) मध्यकालीन इतिहास के अध्ययनकी दिशाएँ by Dr. Premshankar
(vi) अभिलेखीय संदर्भ by Prof. Krishna Datt Bajpayi
(vii) इस्लाम परंपराया अवदान विषये स्फुटविषया : by Pt. Gulam Dastgir Abbasali Birajdar
(viii) Stimulars of Islam to Sanskrit Literature by Dr. Virbhadra
(ix) इस्लाम परंपरा : प्रभाव और अवदान by Dr. Bachchulal Awasthi
(x) मध्यकालीन संस्कृत महाकाव्यों में वर्णित इस्लामी साम्राज्य की राजनैतिक गतिविधियाँ by Rajendra Mishra
(xi) ऐतिहासिक लक्षणीयं चम्पूकाव्यम् ; नवाबखानखाना चरितम् by Prof. K. R. Joshi
(xii) नवरसमञ्जरी में प्रतिबिम्बित इब्राहिम आदिलशाह द्वितीय का व्यक्तित्व by Dr. P. G.Palye
(xiii) सर्वदेश वृत्तान्त संग्रह के द्वारा मुगलकालीन इतिहासपर प्रकाश by Dr. Krishna Jain
(xiv) संस्कृत साहित्य को कश्मीर के मुस्लीम शासकों का योगदान by Prof. Ved Kumari Ghai
(xv) सम्राट् अकबर द्वारा सम्मानित कतिपय जैन संस्कृत विद्वान् by Dr. Sitaram Datare

The Group II Contains the following articles :—

(i) नवाब अब्दुलरहीम खानखाना और संस्कृत साहित्य "गङ्गाष्टकम्" के विशेष सन्दर्भ में by Dr. L. N. Shukla
(ii) दाराशिकोह का संस्कृत के प्रचार-प्रसार में योगदान by Dr. Nazir Mohmmed
(iii) Jagannātha Panḍitarāja and His Enlogy of Muslim Patrons by Prof. K. Krishnamoorthy
(iv) Kavīndrācārya and his Jagadvijayaechandas by Dr. Kshetrabasi Panda

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(v) श्रीकृष्णदैवज्ञकृत " जातकपद्धत्युद्धरण " तथा रुद्रकविकृत श्री खानखानाचरितम्— by Dr. Prem Narayan Dwivedi

(vi) सुलैमचरितम् by Dr. Vindhyeshvari Prasad Mishra

(vii) सेक शुभोदया : भाषावैज्ञानिक अध्ययन by Dr. Bhagavanadin Mishra

(viii) क्या पण्डितराज की शैलीपर पारसीक प्रभाव है ? by Miss Vandana Awasthi

The group III contains the following articles :—

(i) प्रणामी सम्प्रदाय को इस्लाम का योगदान by Dr. L. N. Dube

(ii) उपनिषत्सु इस्लामदर्शनस्य समन्वयपीठिका-अल्लोपनिषद् by Dr. Bhaskaracharya Tripathi

(iii) संस्कृतपारसीकपदप्रकाश : —एक विश्लेषणात्मक परिचय by Devidatta Sharma

(iv) " शृङ्गारमञ्जरी " तथा साहित्यशास्त्र में उसका योगदान by Dr. Kusum Bhuria

(v) नवाब अब्दुलरहीम खानखाना और व्यक्तित्वेयो गावलि by Dr. L. N. Shukla

(vi) आयुर्वेद शास्त्रे यवन प्रभाव : by Dr. Patanjali Kumar Bhatia

(vii) The Saṅgītā mālikā of Mahammad Shah : by Dr. Smt. Sudha Malaiya

(viii) शास्त्रीय संगीत की परम्परा और इस्लाम by Dr. Virendra Mohan

(ix) Saṅgītā mālikā of Mahammad Shah by Dr. H. R. Dholakia

(x) Some Observations on Gulzar-I-hal ; A Persian Translation of Prabodha candrodaya by Dr. S. P. Narang.

(xi) अर्वाचीन संस्कृत साहित्यको इस्लाम परम्परा का अवदान by Dr. Ramakant Shukla

The articles in this book make an interesting and informative reading, as they contain illustrations in extenso and references in the footnotes. The book is well-printed, but one misses the index at the end of the book and one comes across some misprints, e g. protions [for portions] (p. 143), Siva (for Śiva) (p. 143); *taṇḍava* (for tāṇḍava) (p. 228); which tend to tarnish the beauty of the book.

The topics dealt with in these various papers pertain to the field of literature, philosophy, history and culture and fine arts; one, therefore, tends to feel that had the editor given atleast the skeleton-summary of the papers in Hindi and Sanskrit for those who do not know Hindi and Sanskrit well, it would have helped such readers and researchers more in their respective fields of study and research. This would have been quite in line with the practice followed in the " Purāṇa "— Bulletin (All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi) or as in " Indische Sonnenpriester Sāmba and die Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇa " by Heinrich von Stietencron (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, Germany, 1966).

The editor, contributors and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for publishing this book containing various papers presented at this Seminar, because otherwise the rich and precious information contained therein

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would have remained known only to the participants. Let us hope and wish to have many more works from the pen of Prof. Radha Vallabh Tripathi and many more publications from the Department of Sanskrit of the Doctor Harisingh Gour Vishvavidyalaya (Sagar University) in the years to come.

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S. G. KANTAWALA

Position and Status of Women in Ancient India (Seminar Papers), Vol. I. Edited and published by PROFESSOR DR. L. K. TRIPATHI, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi-221005 (India), 1988, pp. XII + 352, Price : Rs. 140.

The Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, organised a U.G.C.—sponsored national seminar on a very important, attractive and debated theme : "Position and Status of Women in Ancient India" on March, 26-31, 1988 and published on this occasion the present volume containing about half the papers submitted to this seminar. The remaining papers are expected to be published in the second volume which is eagerly awaited.

Here is a happy coincidence that the Department organised a seminar in March, 1988 and published a part of the papers submitted to this Seminar on the topic of "Status and Position of Women in Ancient India", when it had produced about fifty years back, *i.e.* 1938, a monumental work, *viz.* "The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation" by the late Prof. Dr. A. S. Altekar, which has run now in several editions.

With the passage of time many more works and papers are published on this theme since then and it is quite in the fitness of things that a seminar was organised to discuss the theme once agian and to review and evaluate this aspect concerning women afresh on the basis of the researches accumulated thereafter. And this is related with one of the objectives of this seminar, *viz.* "The rise and decline in the position and status of women is properly and accurately delineated, causal factors and situations are properly identified and contributions of our ancient social philosophers to the growth and development of Indian culture especially to the improvement or decline in the status of women is critically assessed" (Preface, p.v). Another objective of this seminar has been "to assess and understand women's rôle and contribution to the growth and development of Indian Culture and its cherished values" (Preface, p. vi),

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The volume under review contains 33 learned papers dealing with the various aspects of status and position of women, based on literary, archaeological, inscriptional, numesmatic, architectural sources *etc.* There are 18 papers based on literary sources, *e.g.* Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda, Sūtra-literature, Rāmāyaṇa, Arthaśāstra, Buddhist and Jain literature, Pali and Prakrit literature, Kālidāsa's works, post-Kālidāsa-literature, Veṅkaṭanātha's works and Tamil literature. There are some papers dealing with the problem based on terracottas, inscriptional and temple-architectural data. One paper discusses the institution of *dāsī* and another paper discusses the *devadāsī*-cult. Topics like women and her rights to property, her incorruptible nature, rural-urban dichotomy with reference to the present theme (from the Maurya period to the Gupta period) and their rōle in social life during the period of *c.* 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. from the theme of some papers. The theme of public women of early medieval Kāśī and Kashmir and in the Purāṇas is discussed in two papers. On the basis of the early terracottas there is a discussion of *sumaṅgalī-vadhū*, whereas three papers deal with the contribution of women to the growth of ancient Indian culture, women and work in ancient south India and their status under the imperial Chola-rule respectively.

The abovegoing brief survey of the contents of this " Volume " will amply make it clear that the seminar discussed the position, status, nature *etc.* of women, including the fallen women—, on the basis of literary and archaeological sources. The volume makes a fascinating reading. One, however, feels that a subject-index would have been very useful to the readers. It is neatly printed. The editor and the contributors deserve our hearty congratulations and we look forward to having the second part of this " Volume " in near future.

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The Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali : by FERNANDO TOLA and CARMEN DRAGONETTI, Tra. by K. D. Prithipani, Pubd. by M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, pp. xxvi + 200, Price : Rs. 110-00 (Cloth), Rs. 75-00 (Paper).

This Spanish commentary on Patañjali's Yogasūtras by F. Tola and C. Dragonetti has been rendered in English by Prof. Prithipaul and published by M. Banarsidass, Delhi. They recognise the intrinsic merit of this work on

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samādhi, which is reached through sequential psychosomatic practices. From a critical selection of Yogic texts and Yogic practices of his times, Patañjali edited it into a psychophilosophical monograph, on the basement of Sāṃkhya metaphysics, with many logistic alterations in it. Though the commentators consider Yoga as a mysticism, it has its scientific foundations as can be seen from Behanans[1] treatise entitled 'Yoga : a scientific evaluation'. This is more fully borne out by a critical, realistic and an excellent study of the sūtras by P. V. Karambelkar,[2] and depth psychological study of Yoga by Kenghe[3] and Sachdeva.[4] G. Feuerstein[5] rightly considers Yoga as a technology of consciousness transformations. The English psychotherapist G. Coster[6] appreciatively acknowledges Indian psychology to be abreast with western psychology.

What the commentators' allude as yogic magic powers are physical and mental powers attained through intensive yogic practices, and come naturally. But practioners are warned not to use them for selfish ends, but to transcend them by more intensive practice, if they want to reach the final goal of yoga, namely, the Kaivalya. But it is the convergence of dhāraṇā, dhyāna, and samādhi into *saṁyam* (संयम) given in Vibhūti-pada (Book III) which is of supreme value, as a technique bridging the gap between Sabeeja Samādhi (सबीज समाधि) and Nirbeeja Samādhi and few other relevant powers, which are technically the more important as a means for further realistic knowledge. The authors find some common features between yoga and Christian mystīcism. This is an untenable postulate for Christian mysticism is hardly a science, and is based on Lord's grace, whereas yogic concept of God does not endow Him with any such powers of conferring grace and is merely a psychological prop for emotionally inclined yoga-students, to achive one- pointedness of mind. Carl Jung[7] considers religious instinct natural, and advocates its adequate fulfilment for the health of human psyche.

The commentators' use of the term trance for samādhi is an unhappy choice, and their likening it to cateleptic and comatose states of mind is very unfortunate. Yogic practice carried to its logical conclusion convinces one of its truth. They consider Patañjali's first book complete in itself, and the most important part of Patañjali's work. This is not so as the first book is merely an aerial survey of the entire field of yoga discipline, and the details of rigorous yogic practices and the introversion of consciousness come in books II and III, and for this importance alone these have been copiously referred to by the authors themselves.

The authors rightly consider 'yoga' to be a total and absolute cessation of mental modifications. They have dealt with the perception of error (विपर्यय) in an exhaustive manner. Their acceptance of निद्रा as a वृत्ति taking it to mean the emptiness left on the cessation of other vṛittis is traditional.[8] They equate

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स्मृति to retention and remembering which is perfectly logical. Abhyāsa and Vairāgya have been explained by them as the effort for intellectual-cognitive stability, and the control of emotional aspects of mind respectively, and this is worthy of note. It is also in order to say that vairāgya should be voluntary, spontaneous and conscious. Further that one who has rid himself of his desires should be aware of his mastery over his desires, is a commendable complement. They state that Sūtra 1.16 does not pertain to any higher-level-state of detachment, but merely points out the fact that the knowledge of spirit (पुरुष) is superior to vashikāra vairāgya is a thought-provoking intepretation, and may turn out to be a controversial proposition.

From psychological point of view वितर्क in sutra 1.17 should stand for evil and antagonistic impulsive materials from the unconscious mind, such as lies there to be emptied out or integrated with the sātvic consciousness of the yoga-student. It does not stand merely for the unqualified meditational analysis of gross-objects as they propose. This mixed view of the object at the first ever identification of consciousness with the object for meditation is called वितर्क समापत्ति. It is contaminated with imperfections from words, and limited knowledge from direct objective perceptions. These imperfections automatically drop out giving more realistic view of the object different from that of it with direct vision, that of the common-man. This is निर्वितर्क समापत्ति. It should be noted that a samāpatti is not a samādhi for samāpatti is mere identity of the consciousness with the meditational object, and samāpattis qualitatively indicate the degree of purity of the consciousness, while the samādhis are cognitive evaluative grades of quantitative realistic measure of the grasp of the object. In samādhi the comprehender (ग्रहीता), the comprehended (ग्राह्य), and the comprehension (ग्रहण) merge into a unity and the seer (द्रष्टा) loss his 'I consciousness'. The memory tentacles from words and direct objective perceptions concerning the object (शब्द and ज्ञान) vanish, and it is now a changed and more realistic presentation of the object in comparison with what it was to common-man's naked perception.

Then on further continued meditational practice a crisp 'thought-built' picture of the object gets established on the mental canvas at the सविचार समापत्ति stage, which contaminations may pollute its rational nature but even these imperfections drop out and the thought-built model of the object also vanishes giving rise to more realistic essential view of the meditational object transcending all thoughts at निर्विचार समापत्ति stage. Here dhāraṇā ripens into dhyān—an advanced stage of meditation. As rajas and tamas guṇās get enfeebled the peaceful-sātvic dominates the consciousness to initiate आनन्द stage and then even आनन्द is eliminated leaving pure 'I-consciousness i.e. अस्मिता मात्र'. When निर्विचार समापत्ति is firmly established dhyāna merges into samādhi where meditator (seer) and ग्रहण (comprehension) merge into ग्राह्य (comprehended object) and separative I-consciousness vanishes,

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leading to the sabeeja samādhi. As the desires and passions return on re-emerging into the world of objects from the samādhi, it is aptly termed the samādhi with seeds. Either the intuitive faculty ṛtambharā prajnā ऋतम्भरा प्रज्ञा arising from firmly established sabeeja samādhi practice or *saṁyam* from the convergence of dhārṇā-dhyān-and samādhi simultaneously dawn on the mental canvas. This takes one from sabeeja to nirbeeja samādhi, the entrance to kaivalya. The internalized journey of the mind from सवितर्क समापत्ति to sabeeja samādhi is also called samprajñāt (संप्रज्ञात) mental region. Patañjali nowhere uses the term असंप्रज्ञात.

A few salient remarks may be added to do fuller justice to the commentary.

1. In the interpretation of sutra 1.20 स्मृति merely stands for the yogic goal being constantly held before the eyes as guiding star of destiny and समाधि प्रज्ञा should be equated to an intellectual grasp of the path to samādhi from the direction of the guru (guide).

2. The interpretation of the authors on the hindrances in the yoga pursuit as given in Sūtra 1.30 may be accepted for the first five mental dispersions beginning with ' disease ' (व्याधि), but the last four do not at all fit in from practioner's experincial view-point.

3. The sutra 1.34 stands for an elementary breathing exercise with forceful exhalation, and gradual inhalation and not for prāṇāyāma proper, nor sūtra 1.39 stands for rigorous intensive meditational practices. Prāṇāyāma does not produce oxygen-debt, and cateleptic condition through oxygen starvation of brain. It leads to a shift from sympathetic autonomous control to the parasympathetic control of the sādhaka and also presses the carotid arteries, and sinus, and gives a calmer self-contented pleasant harmonious state of inner poise, and mental peace. This is due to the increase in the pressure of the fluid in the spinal-cord, and cranial ventricles, which stimulate the nervous system, and cause internalization of consciousness and induce super sensuous perceptions. [See Swami Kuvalayananda's treatise on ' Prāṇāyāma '].

4. The views of the commentators on different meditative states although worthy of notice and interesting, deviate from what is actualized by an advanced yoga-adept, and hence need revision in the light of literature and experiences of the yogis.

5. The commentators believe that सवितर्क and निर्वितर्क समापत्ति stages can also activate an intuitive capacity. like ṛtambharā, and that they are at par with सविचार and निर्विचार समापत्ति. This is not so, and the latter pair raises the consciousness to a higher and subtler level.

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6. Patañjali's depth-psychological understanding of the subtle consciousness levels par excellence, is evident in his equating vedic ' Om ' (ॐ) symbol for ब्रह्मन् with yogic ईश्वर. Repetition of ॐ ties fast the consciousness making the mind one-pointed. The vibrational frequencies of ॐ rise from audible level to ultrasonic levels. The lungs and the digestive system are tuned up. The heart and other internal organs are mildly massaged alongwith prāṇāyāmic breathing practised earlier, and harmonise the orchestra of endocrine hormone secretions, and stimulate the nervous system to wuthering height of highest harmony.

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Satī (Historical and Phenomenological Essays)—by ARVIND SHARMA and others—Publisher Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, pp. xviii + 130, Price : Rs 75-00.

Satī is a very old custom and it has revived in modern times in spite of much opposition to it. The book under review is a systematic study of the custom of Satī in its historical and phenomenological aspects. It is a collection of 12 essays presented as a study of the phenomenon of Satī. Out of these nine essays are by Dr. Arvind Sharma of the University of Sydney, two essays by Dr. Ajit Ray of National University Library, Canberra and the last essay is by Dr. Alaka Hejib and Dr. Katherine Young of Mc. Gill University, Montreal.

In the first two essays Dr. Arvind Sharma discusses the reaction of the Western people and the Indian public against Satī. He starts from the experience of Greeks who witnessed 'Satī' in 316 B.C. and notes, "their is an almost unbroken chain of foreign reference to the rite, from Alexander's time to our own day : it includes Strabo, Propertius, St. Jerome, Marco Polo, and travellers from Mahommadan lands as well as Christian".

In 1510 A.D. Albuquerque abolished 'Satī' in Goa.

In the second essay Dr. Sharma starts with Bāṇa, the court poet of Emperer Harṣa who very emphatically condemns the *Sahagamana* and *Anumaraṇa* of women after the death of their husbands, in his *Kādambarī*. He deserves the credit of offering the most vehement determined and rational opposition to this inhuman custom. Dr. Sharma also refers to the commentators on *Smṛti* like Medhātithi Aparārka, Devaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa etc. who criticise the rite of Satī.

In the third essay Dr. Sharma discusses the reactions of Hindus and Non-Hindus to Satī. Here he notes specially the Tāntrika objection to the rite of Satī, and he also refers to the views of Rammohan Roy against this custom.

Then further, in his fourth essay Dr. Sharma brings out that the role of the Brāhmaṇas consisted of trying to dissuade the widow from her resolve to commit Satī. He also notes that from 17th Century onwards this spirit of dissuading was changed in the Brahmins. Instead of dissuading the Brahmins seem to approve it.

The fifth essay by Dr. Sharma discusses 'Brāhmaṇa widows and Satī'. He notes here that originally this rite was forbidden among the Brahmins. But later on it was argued by the same writers of Smṛti digests that the prohibiton of Satī among the *Brāhmaṇa*s meant only that a *Brāmaṇa* widow should not commit Satī on a separate funeral pyre, but should burn herself on the same pyre of her husband. The sixth essay by Dr. Sharma deals with the Scriptural sanction for Satī in Hinduism. He first discusses the evidence from Smṛtis supporting this rite e.g. Viṣṇudharmottara, Aṅgirasa, Śukra, Hārita etc. He admits that excepting the case of Mādri, the second queen of king Pāṇḍu, there is no explicit incident of 'Satī' described in the Mahābhārata. Of course it

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passingly refers to the four wives of Vasudeva and five wives of Śrī Kṛṣṇa who committed Satī. Then he takes up evidences from Vedic literature and concludes that there is no mention of Satī in the Vedas. Thus there is no clear sanction for the rite of Satī in the Vedas. The seventh essay by Dr. Sharma describes a unique example of Satī performed by the queen Yaśomati of king Prabhākaravardhana in anticipation of her husband's death. The eighth essay by Dr. Sharma gives a comparison of Raja Rammohan Roy and B. G. Tilak based on Roy's attitude towards Satī. He takes the views of Lokamanya Tilak as expressed in opposition to the Age of Consent Bill and Act and compares Roy's view regarding Satī. He campares them both as social reformers. His last essay considers the native response to the abolition of the rite of Satī effected by Lord William Bentick in 1829 by the regulation passed by him as the Governor General. Dr. Sharma enumerates the advocates of abolition of the rite like Mṛtyunjaya Vidyalankara, Rammohan Roy, Gaurishanker Bhattacarya, Kalinath Roychaudhary, Dwarkanath Tagore, Munshi Mathuranath Mullick, Ramakrishna Sinha and Anandprasad Bandopadhyay etc.

In his ninth essay Dr. Sharma briefly summarizes the native opposition to 'Satī'. He also notes the views of modern scholars like Anand K. Coomaraswamy who glorify and favour the rite of Satī.

In his first essay, 'Widows are not for burning' Dr. Ajit Ray dwells on role played by Christian Missionaries in the abolition of the rite of Satī.

In the second essay Dr. Ray discusses the effort of Rammohan Roy to find support from the *Niṣkāma karmayoga of Bhagavad Gītā.*

The last essay Satī, widowhood and Yoga, by Dr. Alaka Hejib and Dr. Katherine Young gives a very good comparison of a Widow and Yogī and tries to evaluate the position of Satī. It treats the subject purely on Indian grounds. But the remark passed by well known sociologist Dr. M. N. Srinivas in his Foreward deserves to be noted. He writes "I have, however, a difficulty with the interpretation of Drs. Hejib and Young : it is not always clear when the authors are merely giving expression to traditional Hindu ideas and when they are putting their own gloss. The Yoga analogue is indeed impressive in helping to understand the Satī's behaviour, but was that how the indigenes saw it ? Some more evidence than is presented in the essay, would appear to be necessary".

The editor of this compilation has given fully exhaustive notes at the end, and has furnished the book with required indexes.

The compilation is a very good source book for information regarding the age old custom of Satī and the editor and compiler of these essays deserve our congratulations for bringing it out as such a finished product.

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Man, Society and Nature : edited by P. BANERJEE and S. K. GUPTA, 1988, pubd. by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla in association with Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, pp. 1-200, Price : Rs. 125-00.

This book is the first in its series 'Indian Institute of Advanced Study (IIAS) Occasional Papers' centres round Man, Society and Nature. The purpose of this volume as aptly stated by the Director, IIAS, in her Foreword, that the series of papers presented by the Fellows on subjects of their own specialization was intended to benefit a wider scholarly public. This book consisting of seven research articles were grouped with a 'certain latitude of approach', however with a relevant direction. Three of these articles deal with society vis-a-vis language, folk literature, culture and ethnicity in a sociological and historical perspective. The other three articles have a historical, sociological and political purport and for all their thematic divergence society remains their focus. The last paper highlights Nature, Environment crisis and society.

The first paper : "The Boneless Tongue" : Alternative voices from Bhutan in the context of Lamaist Societies' by Michael Aris discusses two hitherto unnoticed genres of oral literature from Bhutan by situating them in the wider context of Lamaist Societies and by analysing their functional purpose and the values they express. The first genre, devoted to a satirical narratives like— "Initiation of Long Life" and "Mind Treasure of Tara" to the well-known invocation "Clearing the Path of Obstacles" and a single short village ritual, known to monks and laity alike, intended to placate the local spirits and called "The Libation of Ale". All that has been heard in the first genre is no more than a variant of the monastic voice, singing in a different register.

The second genre (ghasi—historical epic known as loze) suggests "The product of an educated mind". It appears from both the short and long stories that the principle theme is about the tragic destinies of two individuals as determined by the inescapable need to fulfill the commands of the theocratic state. In these narratives a much clearer and louder articulation of secular values in response to these pressures than is elsewhere discernible in the Lamaist world. This genre appears to give voice to a new lay ethic which arose from the ruins of the country's former monastic theocracy, heralding the country's transformation into a sovereign monarchy.

The purpose of this essay, as the author stresses, is to introduce certain hitherto unnoticed examples of popular literature from Bhutan which seem to have developed out of such conflicts in a way that affords a rare perhaps unique insight into certain common attitudes and aspirations which lie more or less hidden beneath the visible superstructure of Lamaist Societies of the past and present. For present purposes the author took the societies to include first, those located in the many quasi-autonomous units on the actual plateau of Tibet

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whose social and religious climate came to be deeply coloured by northern Buddhism and secondly, those inhabiting the numerous states and districts on the whole periphery of Tibet (Bhutan among them) where Lamas, their institutions and teachings achieved primacy.

The author argues that when the Bhutanese texts analysed here are considered in relation to each other, they stand as evidence for a cultural transition in Bhutan from a society dominated by monastic forms to one in which the values of the laity could find full and meaningful expression. One piece to be considered is said to belong to the repertoire of wandering bards known in Bhutan as ' manip ' or ' Lam manip ', and tells in a satirical form, which makes full use of symbolic inversion, how a certain teacher ' Gyalwo Lodro ', came to beston the ' dharma of copulation ' on a great queen. The other two pieces introduced here, as the author states, belong to a genre of oral literature known as ' loze ', recited in the court vernacular of Bhutan in the form of minor epics. They relate the narratives of two individuals, one a monk and the other a layman, whose tragic destinies are controlled by the need to render service to the theocratic state. It should be made clear that the category of 'alternative voices' is intended to include not only those genres which can be regarded as potentially subversive of monastic authority but also one genre in particular which, without expressing any overt criticism or protest, appears to move beyond the heavy constraints imposed by monastic tradition, and which begins to advance a new and different viewpoint in Bhutanese society. It must also be emphasized that since all these narratives form part of a body of oral literature which is still in the course of being rediscovered and committed to writing for the first time by local scholars in search as Bhutan's national identity, it will be some time before a full classification and typology of the various genres can be offered.

The second paper : " An Indian Ascetic as Depicted in the Art of Kizil (Central Asia) " by one of the editors of this volume, P. Banerjee, describes an ascetic figure from a cave called ' Demon's cave ' from Kizil situated on the northern silk route of the Tarim basin in Chinese Turkestan, and was discovered by A. Von Le Coq and his colleagues in the course of their archaeological expeditions to Chinese Turkestan during the early years of the present century.

As this ascetic figure has not been yet identified satisfactorily by any scholar, the author, on the basis of his studies based on art and literary sources, feels that the present figure is a representation of an Indian *Yogī*, perhaps Gorakhnātha (the most well known of all the *Nātha-Siddhas*) whose fame spread far and wide in India and also outside in some neighbouring countries.

With the source of socio-literary evidences, the author tries to prove that the dates of Kizil painting and Gorakhnātha do not clash. More or less they both belong to 8th–9th Century A.D.

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The *Nātha-Siddhas*, who look upon Gorakhnātha as a God or *Avatāra* called him *Isvara-Santān* or devine and immortal. According to various literary traditions, Gorakhnātha is considered to be an incarnation of Śiva.

The author feels that the figure under discussion is not an ordinary ascetic. It is something more than an ascetic. The fame of Gorakhnātha spread all over India, Nepal, Tibet, the North-Western parts of the Indian sub-continent, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. As the *Nātha Yogīs* travelled far and wide in and outside India, it was quite natural that Gorakhnātha's fame also reached Chinese Turkestan, not far from Afghanistan and Persia, and so he may have become the subject of a painting in one of the Kizil caves. However, the author feels, it may be, the Kizil figure definitiely represents a *Yogī* or *Avadhūta* of the *Nātha-Yogī* or a related cult, though it may be difficult at the present stage of our knowledge specifically to call him Gorakhnātha.

The third paper : " Modernization : In the Perspective of History, Tradition and Culture " by S. P. Varma discusses the concept of Modernization in the context of both the developed and developing countries. While reviewing the major trends of thinking on modernization in the perspective of history, tradition, culture, ethnicity and development, the author has emphasized the difficulties and dangers involved in its uniform application.

The author expresses that the concept of ' Modernization ' as it operates in the developing countries today is based on the western idea of building up a nation-state which may be in a position to take up the responsibility for the economic as well as social development of the entire society, a state-centric view which is rooted in typically western concepts. Unfortunately, it is on this basis that all the developing countries of the world have been working ever since they attained political independence. The western model of modernization, which involves capital for the use of modern technology, may not be possible in the developing countries for a long time to come. The Western model of development is based on urbanization, high literacy rate and skilled labour force. Whereas the developing countries face the problem of large starving population, psuedo-urbanization, predominance of illiteracy and unskilled labour force.

The author clearly points out that the history of recent times, as well as of the earlier decades and centuries makes it clear that economic development cannot be pursued in an environment where the resources of all nations are being drawn into the arms build-up. A country may afford heavy military expenditure if at all, at a later stage of economic development, but not in the earlier stages. The author stresses, that the developing countries, being at the receiving end of the harmful consequencies of the arms build-up, should initiate and pursue the developed countries for peace.

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The author, ennumerates the problems, like the traditions, culture and ethnicity, in coping with modernization, in the developing countries. It is considered to be very difficult, by many thinkers, for an individual to shake off his cultural roots and take a new 'avatar' like individuals steeped in their own cultural traditions reacting to the efforts to 'de-culturize' them, nation also as they develop a consciousness of their distinctive cultural roots, react strongly to efforts by foreign rulers to 'de-nationalize' them.

The author contends that thinking on 'Modernization' has transcended 'Euro-centrism' and 'endogenism' despite the fact that a 'universal conception' of 'development' is not yet easy to achieve. Every society has to follow its own path of development, though no society can afford to ignore the phenomena that are taking place at the global level.

The fourth paper : "Inequalities in Indian Society : A Search for Determinants" by one of the editors of this volume, S. K. Gupta, examines the notion of equality as it emerges through the 'changing scenario' of inequalities. In the first part of the paper, the author provides a conceptual framework; the second part is empirical in nature and examines the varied and changing dimensions and maginitude of inequalities prevalent in the Indian Society from the earliest times to the period of the British Raj, and finally, the analytical part, formulates the major determinants of inequalities, attempting to order them in a hierarchical scale, reflecting the inherent value of different determinants in the intensification of inequalities.

In the part of conceptual framework, the author, discusses how once existed complete equality between man and man during primeval living, termed as a "period of innocence" by some thinkers and "primitive communism" by others. In course of time due to many factors the inequalities originated. The dimensions, magnitude and determinants of inequalities continued varying with the changing times and socio-economic and political milieu. Gradually, some of the determinants so solidified themselves that they became primary instruments of social stratification, hierarchy and inter-relationships. It is against this backdrop, the author states, that the paper studies the changing scenario of inequalities over a period of time in Indian Society and attempts to ascertain their determinants.

Beginning with the pre-Aryan or the Harappan period through the periods of Aryan, Vedic, post-vedic, Mauryan, Shungas, post-Mauryan, the pre-Guptas, the Guptas, early medieval India, later medieval India (Muslim regim) and finally upto the period of British Raj, the author excellently examined the changing inequalities and the emerging notion of equality. The author formulates, taking the early Rigvedie period as a base, the major determinants of inequalities that emerged from his preceding discussion—like, Ethnocentrism, Institutionalized religion, Caste, Untouchability, Metaphysical and Philosophical theories, Economics, Religion and Politics.

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Another significant fact that becomes quite obvious from the author's own discussion is that " certain egalitarian strands of thought, attitudes and equalitarian notions injected in the society by the socio-religious dissent and protest movements, heretical sects or by the adherents of the devotional and bhakti cults, gradually faded away and their impact remained very limited and ephemeral. The author feels that ordering the determinants in a hierarchical scale, reflecting the inherent values, would not only be hazardous but it would also invite ideological controversy. The author views that the untouchability—caste-religion-internalization nexus appears to assume the first place in the peculiar setting of the country since even the economic and politicolegal inequalities derived a lot of sustenance from this nexus.

The fifth paper : " The Cultural Profile of Darjeeling " by Jahar Sen is an intensive study of cultural context between India and Nepal based on linguistic sources. A hill district of North Bengal, Darjeeling has a ' variegated ' cultural profile, reflecting the religions and customs of various ethnic groups inhabiting it. The author points out that the language, ' Lepcha ', is a mixed form of speech because of its close contact with the Tibetal language. Nepali was introduced in the area much later but it gradually attained prominence as a result of Gorkha recruitment in the army. In course of time, beginning with the nineteen twenties, there was a strong movement for its acceptance as a vernacular and as a medium of instructions and later on, since the sixties, for its constitutional recognition.

The Nepali language began to acquire literary qualities in and through the Journals. The author, in this paper, makes a brief survey of the Journals published from different centres in the district of Darjeeling. The organisers are, in their zeal for literary pursuits, by and large, uncontaminated by the vices of capitalist society. In their devotion to literature they have not indulged in cultural degeneration. For them, these new publications, especially journals in the Nepali language, which stimulated the search for ' self-identity ', ' self-recognition ' and indeed of ' self-creation ', provided the central impetus.

The sixth paper : " Cultural Pluralism and Nation-Building " : Issues of Language and Ethnicity by Lachman M. Khubschandani critically examines the role of state in dealing with the primordial loyalties such as language, ethnicity, lineage and tradition, which are not very different from the religious loyalties.

In this article, the first section is devoted by the author, in brief, to a few socio-linguistic characteristics of pluralism on the Indian sub-continent and highlights its organic elements in the context of a variety of models of cultural pluralism prevalent on the global canvas. The socio-linguistic realities like relativity, hierarchy, instrumentality are studied in the context of linguistic pluralism. He highlights that the demands for linguistic homogeneity within the heterogeneous states of the South Asian region are fraught with many complexities.

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This study also critically examines the role of the state in dealing with the primordial loyalties such as language, ethnicity, lineage and tradition, these are not very different from the religious loyalties in a secular set-up. It focusses attention on certain issues of transition in the sphere of language identity and communication, which have emerged from various socio-cultural developments in the country following the colonial withdrawal.

The seventh paper : " How ' Natural ' is Nature ? Some Observations about Environmental Ethics ". by Sehdev Kumar stresses that all over the world, in developed and developing countries alike, a certain environmental crisis is beginning to emerge which threatens the basic quality, and indeed the very existence of life on this planet He argues that in the face of the industrialism, the great complex webs of life on earth seem helpless, certainly, most vulnerable. The author also stressed some of the highlights of environmental degradation as published recently in a document on " The State of India's Environment : A Citizen's Report ". It is apparent that the causes of and possible solutions for all or any of them are complex; they require an understanding not only of the various biological and physical factors but also of numerous social, economic, political and cultural issues.

The author concerns more for the reassessment of the assumptions that establish our relationship to nature. This area of study and enquiry has been variously called ' Environmental Ethics and Ecological Conscience '. It explores a new code of behaviour of human beings towards " others in nature "—animals, trees, land, forest, rivers, lakes, mountains, etc. In-herent in this environmental ethics is the recognition of a special place for man in nature. ' Conquest of Nature ' is the new credo of industrial man. He thinks that he has ' Mastery over Nature '. The author feels that the ' nature ' is now seen as primarily a repository of ' natural ' resourses of which man is the rightful user and exploiter. The author, with many examples, clearly indicates that the ' Nature ' is a great treasure of facts and observations that bear their full import when one sees with an awakened eye. Emphatically, the author, says that in all ages, every-where, there has been one eternal challenge before man : to be ' Natural ' ; to be one with nature for, however much we may deny, the nature of man and the nature of nature are all of one piece.

As this book is an outcome of a seminar conducted by I.I.A.S. in 1988. it bears all the hallmarks of a seminar volume. All the seven papers running through full 200 pages are of uniform quality and they are all specifically related to the subject of the seminar. Credit is due primarily to the individual authors for presenting such scholarly works of divergent areas; and secondarily to the editors for organizing a structure ' with a certain lattitude ' but definitely in a relevant way. Scholars in the fields of culture, society, ethnicity, language and

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environment find this book interesting and thought—provoking. Cross references given at the end of each chapter would enable readers to study the subject widely and deeply. Although this book appears to be slightly expensive to own it in personal library, it can still be recommended for its comprehensive and lucid portrayal of the complex relationships between Man, Society and Nature.

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The Hindi Biography of Dādūdayāl: Edited by WINAND M. CALLEWAERT Published by: M/s Motilal Banarsidas—Delhi, 1988, p. 178; Price Rs. 110/-.

The book under review is the critical edition of the "*Dādū Janma Līlā*" composed by 'Dādūpanthī' Jangopal.

In the first part of the book Callewaert discusses the sectarian sources of Dādū's life, non-sectarian and western sources, manuscripts of *Dādū Janma Līlā*, intentional varients, additions and omissions, Dādū's Disciples, Topography etc. Thus he attempts to make his edition of *Dādū Janma Līlā* an analytical and scientific one.

To distinguish between the earlier and the later versions of *Dādū Janma Līlā* is one of the main objects of this edition. Callewaert's observations regarding the sources and nature of and the intention behind the variations, additions and alteration etc.; found in the later versions of *Dādū Janma Līlā* are noteworthy. They can be summerised as under—

(i) That, oral and written—both the traditions about Dādū's life have the tendency to conform to certain archetypes for the behaviour of 'sants', telling us how they should have acted.

(ii) The interpolations found in the later versions of the *Dādū Janma Līlā* are mainly made by the sectarian biographers and historians, who indulged in laudatory embellishments to the point of most fanciful "miracle mongering".

(iii) Literary devices are used in these interpolations.

(iv) Most of the interpolated details are encomiastic and miraculous.

(v) These sectarian interpolations and varients illustrate the growing biases in the early group of Dādū's followers.

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(vi) In the early biography of Dādū there is a tendency towards Brahminization i.e. to hide Dādū's (possible) Muslim origin and Muslim preceptor (and to establish that Dādū was fostered by a brahmin couple)

These observations and the conclusions that Callewaert draws, at the end of this part of the book, are incisive and reflect his erudition. However, his use of the term "Biography" for "Līlā" can not be accepted without questioning. It seems that the learned editor has appropriated the Indian concept of "Līlā" to the western concept of biography. This has raised a few basic questions of cross-cultural significance. I, therefore, would like to point-out some of the salient features of "Līlā", especially in the context of the life-story of a "Sant".

"Līlā" is the examplary life-story of the founder of a religious sect. It is generally composed by the follower/s of the concerned sect. The founder of the sect may or may not believe in the incarnation of God and the validity of caste and creed but his followers would not like to be known as the worshipers of a low-caste, ordinary person. Therefore some selected actions and incidents from the available life-story of the founder of the sect are elevated in a way to prove that he was not an ordinary person but a divine being. If necessary some such actions and incidents are imagined in the light of, or in context with, his comtemporary circumstances. So necessary additions, omissions, interpolations, enlargements, glorification, literary devices etc. are resorted to with a definite object of projecting the divine attributes of the founder of the sect. It is with the help of these imagistic strategies that the biography is converted into a "Līlā" and the concerned founder of the sect is presented as the incarnation of the God in human form.

The method in which the biography is converted into a "Līlā" and the founder of the sect is proved to be endowed with divine attributes is rather simple and conventional. For example—

(i) God is believed to be self-existent, and the creator, or the father of all—animates and inanimates; Therefore no mortal being can be treated as His father and mother in a literal sense.

(ii) God is believed to be omnipotent, therefore He can not be defeated or even physically wounded by any one—man or animal.

(iii) God, being omniscient, so no philosophy can be equal to His.

(iv) God, being all merciful and the protector of all, so He will not kill anyone but will conquer all—virtuous and vicious alike by his kindness.

(v) God is believed to be the propagator of "Dharma". Therefore He can do no wrong. etc. etc.

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Several devices, in accordance with the age and clime, are used to prove that the concerned founder of the sect was endowed with all such divine attributes. Hence the concept of " Līlā " is the root cause of all the alterations, modifications, additions, omissions, exaltations etc. in the available biography of the concerned ' Sant '. This provides us a rationale or the sectarian logic for Callewaert's observations and what he calls " the archetype for the behaviour of a Sant. "

Jangopal's the *Dādū Janma Līlā* is not an exception to what has been said above. As Jangopal himself has clearly mentioned that he has composed the " Līlā " of Dadu Din Dayal " which is beyound understanding and endless " and expresses the wish " may I utter the name *DĀDŪ*—for all ages to come–(12/29). Moreover in the last Sakhi of almost all the chapters, Jangopal, with firm faith, states that whosoever hears, reads, or recites the concerned Adhyāya (i.e. Chapter) of the *Dādū Janma Līlā* will know the right-way, will be blessed with undivided devotion to " Jagadīśa ", will find liberation etc. etc. These statements make it very clear that he is not composing a biography (or the factual life—sketch) of a mortal being—named *Dādū*, but the " Līlā " of a deity, named Dadu Din Dayal i.e. Dādū the merciful God. It is because of this, purely sectarian angle, that all his attempts lead to a sort of deification of his perceptor.

The second part of the book contains the English translation of the Hindi-Text of Jangopal's " *Dādū-Janma-Līlā* ". I personally feel that it is not the literal translation, but the translation of ideas. On the whole the translation is fairly adequate, yet at few places it does not carry the exact idea of the Hindi-Text. For example :—

(i) पछिम दिसा अहमदाबाद्, तिहि ठांइं साध प्रगट्यौ दादू ॥ १ । ५

It has been translated as " To the West of Ahmedabad, the holy man Dādū appeared. " While to my mind, the idea contained in the verse is like this— " In the West direction, there is Ahmedabad, at that place the holyman Dādū appeared ".

(ii) लै नारी नरकै गलि बांधै नर की सुरति त्रियां सूं सांधै ।
यूं हरि बिसर्‌यौ बिसवाबीसैं ताथैं हंम कूं अंनरथ दीसैं ॥ १० । १७

The Translation of these verses, given in the book, is as under :—

" A man and a woman embrace each other, they think of nothing else and forget Hari completely: in that sense marriage is meaningless ". To my understanding the idea contained in these verses is like this, " They take a woman, tie her up with the neck of a man, thereby his concentration is centred on her. This way he forgets Hari completely, that is why it (marriage) seems to me meaningless ".

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The third part of the book contains the Hindi-Text of Jangopal's "*Dādū Janma Līlā*" which is based on its earliest available manuscript of 1653 A.D. The additional verses, found in its later enlarged version are also incorporated at their relevant places. As already indicated Mr. Callewaert has made every effort to make this edition a scientific one, yet in some of the lines some of the letters (i.e. alphabets) are detached from their right place and are put at a wrong place, changing the context totally. For example the accepted versions of some of the lines are as under :—

... ...तब जैमलि बहु सुष न संभार्‌यौ ॥ 4/6-1
... ...पातसाह सूं जाई सु नाई ।
... ...स्यंघ कैं पंजरै दीया ज राई ॥ 4/12
... ...स्वामी तुम्हीं लैंनहूं आयौ ॥ 4/13
... ...पार न पांऊं बिसबेबीसा ॥ 7/1
... ...राजा कर सूं कर गहि लीनौ ॥ 6/17
... ...दास दमोदर जगमत परहरि ॥ 8/18
... ...लै नारीनर कै गलि बांधै ॥ 10/17
... ...कूंड कपट सबउ नहीं मांही ॥ 2/11

As per my understanding the right versions of the above lines should be as under :—

... ...तब जैमलि बहु सुषन संभार्‌यौ ॥ 4/6-1
... ...पातसाह सूं जाइ सुनाई ॥
... ...स्यंघ कै पंजरै दीया जराई ॥ 4/12
... ...स्वामी तुम्हीं लैन हूं आयौ ॥ 4/13
... ...पार न पांऊं बिसबे — बीसा ॥ 7/1
... ...राज करसूं कर गहि लीनौ ॥ 6/17
... ...दास दामोदर जग–मत परहरि ॥ 8/18
... ...लै नारी नरकै गलि बांधै ॥ 10/17
... ...कूंड कपट सब उनहीं मांही ॥ 2/11

Few words are missing from Sakhi No. 23-5 of Chapter viii but the editor has not tried to suggest the possible word or words on the basis of the later versions.

It should have been mentioned by the editor that Sakhi Nos. 7/20, 10/15-2, 10/27, 12/12 etc. with some slight changes, are possibly taken from—*Kabīra—Granthāvali*. In few other Sakhi also it is clearly mentioned that it is said by *Kabīra*. It is possible that such Sakhis are interpolated.

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Complete concordance and bibliography given in the last portion of the book are useful to the researchers, scholars and translators of the Hindi literature of the 16th and 17th centuries.

In short Callewaert's critical edition of Jangopal's *Dādū Janma Līlā*, though has some loose ends is a valuable addition to Dādū-scholarship It shows an evidence of painstaking scholarship.

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R. G. SHARMA

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(1) *Public Sector :* by GANGADHAR GADGIL, Published by N. L. Shah, Bombay, pp. 22, Price : Rs. 10.

(2) *Privatization : Myths and Realities :* by D. R. PENDSE, published by N. L. Shah, Bombay, pp. 35, Price : Rs. 10.

(3) *Who gains by liberalisation ? :* by SWAMINATHAN, S. ANKLESARIA AIYAR, published by N. L. Shah, Bombay, pp. 8, Price : Rs. 5.

(4) *Is India Going to Bankrupt ? :* by JAY DUBASHI, published by N. L. Shah. Bombay, pp. 17, Price : Rs. 10.

Prof. Gangadhar Gadgil in the book "*Public Sector*" has offered a brilliant analysis of the growth of public sector, performance of the public sector and steps taken by the government to improve the performance of the public sector. He has rightly pointed out that the development of public sector is based on the industrial policy resolutions of 1948, 1956 and 1977 and takeover of sick units. The enthusiasm for public sector began to decline after mid 70s because of the poor performance of public sector in achieving physical targets of production and growth, financial performance, its contribution to general economic development, unsatisfactory quality of products, irregularity of supplies and thereby its adverse impacts on efficiency and productivity in private sector and other sectors of the economy. However, he shows that the growth of public sector is impressive with reference to growth in employment, growth in investment, growth in emoluments and sales turnover. The author has successfully presented various steps taken by the government to improve the performance of public sector from time to time. However, he is of the opinion that various measures implemented by the government have not improved the financial performance of public sector enterprise. He, therefore, recommends further steps for the improvement in the performance

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of public sector, through investment in joint sector enterprise, whereas management is left to the private sector partner. However, one would like to have a detailed study in the light of various steps taken by the government and its impact on the performance of the public sector enterprises. The booklet, on the whole, makes an interesting and informative reading.

The book entitled "Privatisation : Myths and Realities" by Dr. D. R. Pendse is divided into six parts, viz. The Realities (pp. 1 to 5), In other Countries (pp. 6 to 9), The Myths (pp. 10 to 19), Privatization and India (pp. 20 to 23), Guidelines to Reforms (pp. 24 to 28) and Epilogue p. 29, pp. 30 to 35 deal with executive synopsis, notes and appendix.

In part I, after defining the privatization in terms of divestiture and partial divestiture in the conventional way, he intelligently provides broad definition of privatization and it is according to him, any process, which reduces the involvement of the state or the public sector in the economic activities of a nation is a privatization process. Because of poor financial performance, he suggested larger doses of privatization to generate more resources and to deploy them more efficiently. He very briefly explains the process of privatization in countries like Malaysia, Japan, U.S.S.R. and Great Britain. However, the detailed study on the process of privatization in the above-mentioned countries and comparative study could have thrown very valuable suggestions. In Part III, he lucidly, points out myths regarding privatisation. In part IV, entitled "Privatisation and India", he says that inspite of plenty of good decisions and announcements by the Govt. of India, with reference to privatization, progress in this direction is slow mainly because of two factors viz. (i) It is the selfish among politicians and bureacrats, that are using their powers to reap vast unjustified advantages. (ii) The devious role of government expenditure in the generation of black money.

It would have added to the utility of the booklet if the author had illustrated in detail the process of privatization which took place in India.

Let us wish that the booklet will find a warm welcome.

Swaminathan A. Aaiyar in the "Who gains by liberalization ?" attempted to explain the liberalization in various industries and its impact on consumers and producers. He argues out that liberalization has aided consumers greatly at the expense of inefficient businessmen. He gives the example of liberalization in the production of two wheelers, cars, T.V. sets, synthetic fibres etc. The interests of efficient businessmen and consumers coincide as both can prosper in a competitive environment. However, he points out that the price of commodities has increased with the liberal policy in the domestic economy because of high excise duty. Here, the empirical study on the impact on the cost of production with

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the liberalization and percentage increase in the excise duty on various commodities, where production has been liberalized could have contributed significantly towards the hypothesis of the author. According to the author, the list of beneficiaries is large e.g. consumers, efficient businessmen, hospital patients, factory workers and people under poverty line and many of them belong to low and middle income groups. There is both benefit and social justice. It is the best reason to pursue it. The author deserves congratulations for his analytical and critical study.

Dr. Jay Dubashi in "Is India Going to Bankrupt ?" very intelligently examines the following questions on the basis of the government's own published data : (1) How close the Indian treasury is to bankruptcy ? (2) What has brought it to such a perilous state ? (3) What should be done to stave off the coming crisis ? On the basis of the data available on revenue account, GDP, development expenditure, non-development expenditure, borrowing as a proportion of GDP, interest payment as percentage of outstanding debt etc., he shows that we are between 14 and 16 years from bankruptcy, when the country will be borrowing money only to make interest payments and to save the economy from this, he suggests drastic reduction, in government expenditure and learn to live with its own means.

The project for Economic Education and Friedrich Naumanu Stiftung deserve congratulations for sponsoring the projects on the above said topics which are very important for policy implications. All the authors deserve our hearty congratulations for their analytical and brilliant evaluations and suggestions on the respective problems under study.

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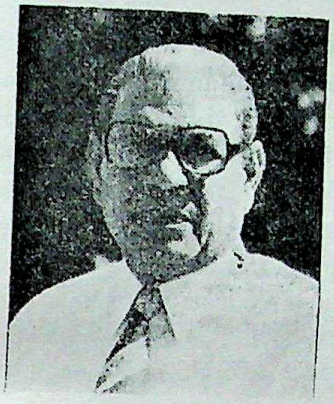
OBITUARY



Col. Prof. R. C. Patel (1931-1990)

Prof. Patel was born on 10th April 1931 and initially he passed BE Mechanical and BE Electrical from the Faculty of Technology and Engineering securing 1st Class and 1st Rank. Later he went abroad on a Colombo plan Scholarship to pursue postgraduate studies and passed M.Sc. (Thermodynamics) from University of Birmingham in U.K. and Associateship Examination in Mechanical Engineering of the Royal College of Science and Technology, Glasgow, U.K. Later he was also awarded a UNESCO fellowship in 1964 for further studies which he declined.

He had an humble beginning in the University when he joined the Faculty of Technology and Engineering as Lecturer in 1955. He rose through the ranks and became Professor in Mechanical Engineering in 1968. He also held various administrative positions such as Head of the Mechanical Engineering Dept. of Polytechnic, Hon. Dy. Director of the Extended Diploma Course, Principal of Polytechnic, Dean, Faculty of Tech. and Engg., Hon. Director of Part Time Degree Course and Hon. Director of Computer Centre of the University. He provided constructive leadership in all the positions that he held.

He is one of the first Indian authors to write books in the Engineering discipline and one of his books 'Element of Heat Engines' which is now running in the 14th Edition, has been translated in Hindi by Book Trust of India and is also utilised in the Northern Belt of the country.

His contribution to Technical Education had been immense and had been the National President of Indian Society of Technical Education continuously for a maximum permissible period of 3 years. During this time he was responsible for establishing a Headquarter building of ISTE at New Delhi, starting of technical assistance to Engineering Colleges by means of Direct Assistance from the Ministry of Human Resource Development with schemes such as Modernisation of Laboratories, Network scheme, Scheme regarding areas of Weakness and Scheme regarding Emerging Areas. He was on the Postgraduate Board of Ministry of Human Resource Development as well as on the Ministry's Board for Management Education. For his services to the technical education the ISTE National Convention felicitated him just last December at Tirupathi.

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He achieved two firsts in this University. He was the first Dean of the Faculty of Technology and Engg. who was the student of the Faculty of Technology and Engg. and later when he became the Vice-Chancellor of the University he was the first Vice-Chancellor who was a student of this University.

Prof. Patel believed that what could be done tomorrow should be done today and what should be done today should be done right-now. He brought this concept into the working of the University and he had visions to raise this University to its pristine glory. Towards this goal he strived till his last breath.

Faculty of Tech. & Engg.,
Baroda.

R. C. Desai

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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શ્રી સયાજી સાહિત્યમાળા

		રૂ. પૈ.
૩૩૩	કૈલાસ—સ્વામી પ્રણવતીર્થજી	૧૩=૦૦
૩૩૪	અંબિકા, કોટેશ્વર અને કુંભારિયા—(સ્વ.) શ્રી. કનૈયાલાલ ભા. દવે	૫=૫૦
૩૩૫	ઐતિહાસિક લેખસંગ્રહ—(સ્વ.) શ્રી પંડિત લાલચંદ ભ. ગાંધી	૧૮=૦૦
૩૩૬	હરિભદ્રસૂરિ—પ્રો. હીરાલાલ ર. કાપડિયા	૧૧=૦૦
૩૩૭	માનવસર્જિત વસ્ત્રતંતુઓ—શ્રી. પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૬૪)	૧૦=૫૦
૩૩૮	ભવાઈના વેશની વાર્તાઓ—(સ્વ) શ્રી. ભરતરામ ભા. મહેતા	૩=૦૦
૩૩૯	શ્રીમદ્ ભાગવત (ગુજરાતી અનુવાદ): ભાગ ૧, સ્કંધ ૧-૩—(સ્વ.) શ્રી નાગરદાસ અમરજી પંજ્યા (૧૯૬૫)	૮=૦૦
૩૪૦	ગુજરાત સ્થળનામ સંશોધન વ્યાખ્યાનમાલા, ભાગ ૧ (૧૯૬૫)	૯=૦૦
૩૪૧	આધુનિક ગુજરાતના સંતો ભાગ ૧—ડૉ. કેશવલાલ કક્કર (૧૯૬૬)	૯=૦૦
૩૪૨	કુદરતની રીતે વધુ આરોગ્ય—શ્રી. શાંતિલાલ પ્ર. પુરોહિત (૧૯૬૭)	૭=૫૦
૩૪૩	ભારત-રત્ન—શ્રી. ઉપેન્દ્રરાય જ. સાંડેસરા (૧૯૬૭)	૧૫=૫૦
૩૪૪	મહાગુજરાતના મુસલમાનો, ભાગ ૧-૨—શ્રી કરીમ મહંમદ માસ્તર	૧૭=૦૦
૩૪૫	આંખામંડળના વાઘેર—(સ્વ.) શ્રી કલ્યાણરાય ન. જોશી (૧૯૭૦)	૧૩=૦૦
૩૪૬	પેટ્રોલિયમ—શ્રી પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૭૦)	૧૩=૦૦
૩૪૭	પંચદશી તાત્પર્ય—સ્વામી પ્રણવતીર્થજી (૧૯૭૧)	૬=૦૦
૩૪૮	અખો અને મધ્યકાલીન સંતપરંપરા—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. યો. જ. ત્રિપાઠી	૧૪=૫૦
૩૪૯	શ્રીમદ્ ભાગવત: ભાગ ૨—(સ્વ.) નાગરદાસ અ. પંજ્યા (૧૯૭૨)	૧૧=૫૦
૩૫૦	ચરકનો સ્વાધ્યાય, ભાગ ૧—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈદ્ય (૧૯૭૩)	૨૬=૦૦
૩૫૧	ગુજરાતનો પોટરી ઉદ્યોગ—શ્રી. શાંતિલાલ પી. પુરોહિત (૧૯૭૫)	૮=૭૫
૩૫૨	ઊંડાણનો તાગ—શ્રી છોટુભાઈ સુથાર (૧૯૭૫)	૧૫=૦૦
૩૫૩	ભારતીય વીણા—(સ્વ.) પ્રો. રસિકલાલ એમ. પંજ્યા (૧૯૭૮)	૩૧=૦૦
૩૫૪	ચરકનો સ્વાધ્યાય, ભાગ ૨—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈદ્ય (૧૯૭૯)	૬૬=૦૦
૩૫૫	ચાંપાનેર: એક અધ્યયન—ડૉ. રમણલાલ ના. મહેતા (૧૯૮૦)	૩૬=૦૦
૩૫૬	દ્વારકાના પ્રદેશનો સાંસ્કૃતિક ઇતિહાસ—(સ્વ.) શ્રી ક. ન. જોષી	૪૪=૦૦
૩૫૭	આધુનિક ગુજરાતના સંતો, ભાગ ૨—ડૉ. કેશવલાલ કક્કર (૧૯૭૯)	૪૫=૦૦
૩૫૮	સૂર્યશક્તિ—શ્રી. પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૮૧)	૫૨=૫૦
૩૫૯	કવિ ગિરધર: જીવન અને કવન—ડૉ. દેવદત્ત જોશી	૫૧=૦૦
૩૬૦	વનૌષધિકોશ—પ્રો. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી	૩૫=૭૫
૩૬૧	સહસ્રલિંગ અને રુદ્રમહાલય—(સ્વ.) શ્રી કનૈયાલાલ ભા. દવે	૭૯=૦૦
૩૬૨	વૈષ્ણવતીર્થ ડાકોર—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. મંજુલાલ ર. મજમુંદાર	૪૮=૦૦
૩૬૩	વૃદ્ધત્રયી અને લઘુત્રયી—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈદ્ય	૩૩=૦૦

પ્રાપ્તિસ્થાન: **યુનિવર્સિટી પુસ્તકવેચાણ વિભાગ,**
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી પ્રેસ, રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે,
રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા-૩૯૦ ૦૦૧

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अमुना यमुनाचलेन भूमिः किमु नाभाति वनीविराजितेन ।
नगरेष्वखिलेषु [1]यद् गरीयः परितो यन्नगराजिराजितं [2]तत् ।
स नलं नगराजसन्निधाने **नगराख्यं नगरं** [3]महद्विभाति ॥ ५०७ ॥

बाम्बोरि ततोऽत्यायतसप्तक्रोशेषु तत्र कुल्या स्यात् ।
त्रिषु योजनेषु **हिवरं** तस्मात्सन्त्यत्र बहुजलाः कूपाः ॥ [5]५०८ ॥

तस्मात् [4]षट्स्ववक्रेशियुतक्रोशेषु भाति **टोकाख्यः** ।
ग्रामस्तस्मिन् **सिद्धेश्वरोऽस्ति** शेवालिनी तु **गोदा** स्यात् ॥ ५०९ ॥

M. S. University Oriental Series No. 16

CETOVINODANAKĀVYAM
OF
DĀJĪ JYOTIRVID

By

P. H. JOSHI AND S. Y. WAKANKAR

Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

तकापहतये स्तुताऽवनितलात् विनिर्गत्य या ।
अवाप्य भुवि गौतमी समभिधां पुनाना जगत्
शतक्रतुदिशं गता जयति वृद्धगङ्गा तु सा ॥ ५१५ ॥

इति गोदास्तुतिः ॥

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१ C. तद्यत् यत् for यद् गरीयः २ C. omits तत् ३ महत्तदस्ति for महद्विभाति ४ C. षट्सु क्रोशेष्ववक्रेशियुतेषु for षट्स्व.....क्रोशेषु ५ C. omits vs. no. 510
६ C. सिंहस्थजीवे for जीवे हरिस्थे ७ C. अवाक् for अपाक्

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[अथ] प्रवरावर्णनम् ॥

अवरान्नृनपि या पुनाति सद्यः
सततं स्नान्ति च याः पतिंवरास्ताः ।
सुवरान् राज्यमिवाञ्छितान् ददातु
प्रवरा विप्रवराश्रिता वरान्नः ॥ ५१६ ॥

घोडेगावं सप्तसु कान्तारेष्वत्र विमलकुल्या स्यात् ।
तस्मादशसु द्वादशकल्येषु [1]शिवालयाख्यसरसीयुक् ॥ ५१७ ॥

विष्णुब्रह्माद्या(द्य)मरैः सेव्यमानो ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं यत्र घुश्मेश्वरोऽस्ति ।
शैले यत्रोत्कीर्णचित्राणि सन्ति कुल्यायुक् तद्वेरुलाख्यं विभाति ॥ ५१८ ॥

अथ[2] घुश्मेश्वरवर्णनम् ।

अलिकविलोचनदग्धातनु(दग्धतनु)स्तुहिनसिततनुस्तु घुश्मेशः ।
तनुभक्तिमतोऽपि च तनुमतो वितनुते विमुक्तिभाज इह ॥ ५१९ ॥

शिव[3]पुराणानुसारेण ॥

आसीद्विप्रस्सुधर्माख्यः तनयरहिता योषिदाद्या सुदेहा
सा यां स्वभ्रातृपुत्रीं निजपतिवनितां कारयामास सेयम् ।
घुश्मा शम्भुप्रसादात् तनयमधिगता तं सुदेहा यदाहन्
आविर्भूत्वाशु सासुं सुतमकृत तदा यः स घुश्मेश्वरा(रोऽ)व्यात् ॥ ५२० ॥

तस्मादाशेर्यवाधिर्देशः खानाह्व यो वराडाख्यः ।
रेवान्त इन्दुरान्तो गोण्डवणं मालवस्तु भेलसान्तः ॥ ५२१ ॥

अस्मात्परतः सागरपर्यन्तः स्याद्दशार्णदेशोऽस्मिन् ।
अर्णः पूर्णा तूर्णा चूर्णसवर्णा सरिद्दशार्णा स्यात् ॥ ५२२ ॥

सांवगि ततोऽष्टसु ततः पञ्चसु बावरममुत्र कुल्ये स्तः ।
पलशी मुनिषु ततोऽस्यां पूर्णार्णोभिः सरिद्वरा पूर्णा ॥ ५२३ ॥

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१ C. omits vs. no. 516. २ C. विभाति वेरुळाख्यपुरम् for शिवा..... युक् ३ C. omits sub-heading ४ C. omits sub-heading and vs. no. 520-522.

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पालदसंज्ञं तस्मात् षट्सु क्रोशेषु भाति तन्निकटे ।
निजजलमधुरिमकृत[1]सुरसरिदवहेलाऽस्ति[2] लघुधुनी **हेला** ॥ ५२४ ॥

अझंटाख्यं च **तळेगांवाख्यं बोदडाख्यमस्मात्स्यात् ।**
मुनिवसुदशसु यथाक्रममेतेषु वसन्ति लघुजलाः कुल्याः ॥ ५२५ ॥

तस्मात्तु बहलवारिषु वसुषु क्रोशेषु **हेदलाबाज** ।
तस्यां जङ्घालजलोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गा नदी **पयोष्णी**ति ॥ ५२६ ॥

अन्तोर्ली मुनिषु ततस्तस्याः पञ्चसु **बराणपुर**संज्ञम् ।
निर्मज्जज्जनपातकतापिन्यनयोर्नदी तु **तापी** स्यात् ॥ ५२७ ॥

यस्मिन्समृद्ध्या विपणिर्विशाला जना धनाढ्याः सरलाश्च मार्गाः ।
सौधा महान्तश्च नभस्पृशः स्युस्तापीतटे भाति **बराणपुरं** तत् ॥ ५२८ ॥

अथ तापीवर्णनम् ॥

स्वपिता सोमसुता पितुरुपकारीत्याकलय्य तपनसुता ।
रेवासाहाय्यार्थं **तापी** पाश्चात्यसागरमितेव ॥ ५२९ ॥

संज्ञा याता वनं यां निजरमणरवेस्तेजसा तप्यमाना
स्वच्छायां स्थापयित्वा समजनि जनिभूः सा तु यस्यास्तटिन्याः ।
यस्याः सावर्णिमन्दौ मनुजखगपती सोदरौ यत्पिताऽयं
ब्रह्माद्यैः स्तूयमानस्त्रिषवणमरुणः साऽस्तु **तापी** मुदे नः ॥ ५३० ॥

रिपुतापी द्रुमव्यापी व्यापीकर्ता विलोकयति व्यापि ।
तापीं तपनतनूजां तापितदीनो न लोकयति पापी ॥ ५३१ ॥

प्राक् सागरावधिजनान् कृपया पुनानां
[3]स्वीयां सपत्नभगिनीं **यमुनां** विलोक्य ।
तत्स्पर्धया वरुणदिग्जनताः पुनाना
तापी प्रतीच्यजलराशिमितेति मन्ये ॥ ५३२ ॥

इति तापीवर्णनम् ॥

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१ C. omits सुर २ C. प्रविलसति for अस्ति लघु°. ३ C. स्वस्याः for स्वीयां

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तस्मादश्वेष्वश्वत्थाममुनीश्वरनिवासभूर्दुर्गः ।
आशेरिसंज्ञको विधुमण्डलसंस्पर्श्यमुत्र कूपाः स्युः ॥ ५३३ ॥

बोरगावमतः पञ्चसु सप्तसु तस्मात्तु **मुकलगावमिह** ।
कुल्ये स्यातां **जोडवसंज्ञमतो** दशसु सन्ति वाप्योऽत्र ॥ ५३४ ॥

तत इषुषु **सुणादाख्यं** कुल्याऽत्र विभात्यतस्तु **वडवाख्यम्** ।
योजनयुगुले **रेवोत्तरतीरे** क्रोशदूरतोऽत्र तु सा ॥ ५३५ ॥

अथ रेवावर्णनम् ।

यस्या अन्यः प्रवाहस्तपदखिलधनाध्यक्ष[1]सम्प्रार्थनेना-
याता **कावेरिका** तत्समभिद इतरस्मिन् यदीये प्रवाहे ।
श्लिष्टोऽभूद्योजनान्ते गणपतिजनिभूः सङ्गमोऽसौ यदीये
तद्द्वीपे[2] त्वास्त **ओंकार** इति जगति विख्यात ईशोऽवतात् सा ॥ ५३६ ॥

यूयं रे वानीरा **रेवा**नीराप्लुता अतो धन्याः ।
तुल्या हि वानरा वा नरा अमी येऽत्र नैव सुस्नाता [:] ॥ ५३७ ॥

अहिमकरभूरपि च या हिमकरभूर्भङ्गशोभनाभङ्गा ।
मेखलकन्या मेखलकदम्बकं सा विनाशयतु **रेवा** ॥ ५३८ ॥

गङ्गा[3] सापि शिवशिरो गत्वाद्य(य)द्यपि सरिद्वरिष्ठत्वम् ।
शिवमातुस्तव समतामपि **रेवे** सा तथापि याति किमु ॥ ५३९ ॥

यदीयाः केऽपि पाषाणाः शङ्करा वा गजाननाः ।
तस्यास्तवार्धसमतां **गण्डकी** यातु नेतरा ॥ ५४० ॥

या श्रीविक्रमशालिवाहनमहीभृच्छाकयोर्लेखिका
कालिन्दी सुरनिम्नगादितटिनीः प्राच्यान्पुनानाः सतीः ।
देशान्पूर्वसमुद्रगा इति विलोक्योद्धर्तुकामा प्रती-
च्यान्देशानभियाति पश्चिमसमुद्रं पातु सा **नर्मदा** ॥ ५४१ ॥

क्वापि यदम्भो हीरति मरकतति क्वापि पद्मरागति च ।
कुत्रापि पुष्पराजति नीलति सा जयति मेखलाद्रिसुता ॥ ५४२ ॥

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१ C. °सम्प्रार्थनायाता या for °सम्प्रार्थनेनायाता २ C. तद्द्वीपेप्यस्ति चोंकार for तद्द्वीपे .....ओंकार ३ C. omits vs. no. 539-40.

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नारायणं स्वजठरे विनिधाय गण्ड-
क्येषा बभूव तटिनीषु वरेति दृष्ट्वा ।
तत्स्पर्धयेव जठरे दधती गणेशं
शर्वं च या विजयतेऽवतु **नर्मदा**[1] सा ॥ ५४३ ॥

यत्रा[2]वसन्ति धवलद्विजराजपङ्क्तयो
देवस्त्रियश्च विलसद्द्विजराजयः सदा ।
या सेव्यते सुतपसे द्विजराजसञ्चयैः
सा मां पुनातु तटिनी द्विजराजसम्भवा ॥ ५४४ ॥

या सिन्धुरवा सिन्धुरदितिजारेर्जन्मभूश्च सिन्धुरया ।
मज्जत्सिन्धुर[3]निकुरा या **रेवा** मां पुनाति सिन्धुरसौ ॥ ५४५ ॥

उडुपतरणिजठरत्वं योग्यं ब्रह्माण्डजठरजाह्नव्याः ।
तत्सुतयोर्युवयोस्तद्देवे **यमुने** न युक्तमिति मन्ये ॥ ५४६ ॥

इति नर्मदावर्णनम् ।

यस्यां दक्षिणतारे ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं चकास्ति **ममलेशः** ।
उत्तरतारे त्रिगुणात्मक **ॐकारेश्वरोऽवताद्देवा** ॥ ५४७ ॥

अथ[4] ममलेश्वरवर्णनम् ।

यो भक्तोद्धृतिकल्पं नागाकल्पं भजेत **ममलेशम्** ।
स पुरन्दरकल्पः सन्नन्ते भजति नाकमाकल्पम् ॥ ५४८ ॥

अथ ओंकारवर्णनम् ।

ओंकारजपासक्तो यस्त्वोंकारेश्वरं प्रपूजयति ।
ओंकारवाच्यमयते ब्रह्मान्तेऽत्र श्रियो मुदा भुक्त्वा[5] ॥ ५४९ ॥

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१ C. मां for सा २ C. यत्राप्लवन्ति for य.....न्ति ३ C. [3]निकुरंबा या रेवा पुनातु for निकुरा.....पुनाति. ४ C. vs. nos. 547, 548, 549, occur before vs. no. 544. ५ C. अथ ॐकारवर्णनम् for अथ ममलेशवर्णनम् ६ C. adds इति ॐकारवर्णनम् after vs. no. 549.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अथ[1] शिवपुराणानुसारेण ।

विन्ध्येनागतनारदाच्छ्रुतवतौन्नत्यं सुमेरोस्ततो
गुर्वीं स्वोन्नतिमिच्छता किल शिवस्त्वोङ्कारयन्त्रेऽर्चितः ।
आविर्भूय ततोऽद्रये वरमदात् ज्योतिःस्वरूपेण योऽ-
त्रौङ्कारेश्वरसंज्ञया निवसति स्मासौ शिवो माऽवतात् ॥ ५५० ॥

बलवाडाशेमरुडं [2]वसुपु वसुपु तत्र कुल्यके अनयोः ।
सप्तपुटोऽत्युच्चतटो[3]त्कटाटविर्विन्ध्य उद्भटो मध्ये ॥ ५५१ ॥

अथ विन्ध्यवर्णनम् ।

योऽरण्यानीराजमानो हिमानीशैलोत्तुङ्गो व्याघ्रसिंहर्क्षकोलैः ।
व्याप्तोऽनेके कन्दरा योगिजुष्टा यस्मिन्सोऽयं शैलराट् भाति विन्ध्यः ॥ ५५२ ॥

गुरुरपि कलशोद्भवस्य शिष्यो वितततटोऽप्यतटाढ्य उच्चशृङ्गः ।
विलसति कुलशैल एष विन्ध्यो बहलवटोऽप्यवटालिराजमानः ॥ ५५३ ॥

आ[4]र्यावर्तजनपदस्य दण्डकारण्यजनपदस्यापि ।
यः सीमाप्याच्छादय[5]दर्कहेमं नमामि विन्ध्यगिरिम् ॥ ५५४ ॥

लसन्मृदुलता लताः सकमलामलापहवना वनान्तरभुवः ।
वसन्ति फलिनोऽलिनो कुरबका बका इह सदा सदानकरिणः ॥ ५५५ ॥

इति विन्ध्यवर्णनम् ।

अथार्यावर्तवर्णनम् ।

आर्यादिकवृत्तज्ञा आर्याभक्ताश्च विन्ध्यहिमगिर्योः ।
मध्यग आर्यावर्ते त्वार्या [6]वर्तन्त एव ये तेऽत्र ॥ ५५६ ॥

आ[7]र्यावर्तः पुण्य एवाखिलानां किन्त्वत्यन्तानन्ददोऽत्रागतानाम् ।
मर्त्यानां स्याद्दक्षिणाशास्थितानां तत्सङ्कल्पं नाशयत्येष यस्मात् ॥ ५५७ ॥

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१ C. omits sub-heading and vs. no. 550. २ C. चाष्टस्वमुत्र कुल्ये स्तः for वसुपु...अनयोः ३ C. °तटोऽटवीयुतो विन्ध्य एतयोर्मध्ये for °तटो...मध्ये ४ C. omits vs. no. 554-55 and two sub. entries ५ B. not clear due to overwriting. ६ C. °वर्ते पुरेव for वर्तन्त एव & adds इति विन्ध्यवर्णनम् ७ C. omits vs. no. 557-59.

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आर्यावर्तगताः शिलाश्च गिरयस्स्थूलाश्च सूक्ष्मा अपि
त्रैलोक्यस्य भयप्रदेऽतितुमुले श्रीरामपौलस्त्ययोः ।
युद्धेऽवाग्दिशि मारुतिप्रभृतिभिः शाखामृगैः प्रायशो
नीता इत्यहमामनामि यदयं तैर्वर्जितः सायुता ॥ ५५८ ॥

चण्डाशोरपि मार्गरोधिनमिमं विन्ध्यं गिरीन्द्रं बलात्
दृष्ट्वा स्तम्भितमाशु कुम्भजनिना तत् क्रोधभीता इव ।
मृत्स्ना मृन्मृदुलाश्मिशिलाश्च धवला देशा द्रुमा वामना
आर्यावर्तगता बभूवुरिति मे वर्वर्ति बुद्धिर्बुधाः ॥ ५५९ ॥

इत्यार्यावर्तवर्णनम् ॥

अयमेव **शेमरुडघाटो**ऽत्रास्ते **बावयि** ग्रामः ।
तस्मिन् **गङ्गापुत्रप्रयागवळकोठि**रस्ति षट्सु ततः ॥ ५६० ॥

[अथ] इन्दूरवर्णनम् ॥

रामारामाः सन्ति यस्मिन् सुरम्या आरामाः स्युर्भान्ति सौधा विचित्राः ।
इन्दूरस्थाभ्यङ्कतुल्याम्बुपूर्णा तूर्णा कूल्या यत्र भान्ती**न्दुरं** तत् ॥ ५६१ ॥

सावेरं नवसु ततोऽस्मिन् श्रुत्यागमपुराणविख्याता ।
ख्याताख्या तापस[1]सञ्चयसेव्यास्ते सरित्ततो नवसु ॥ ५६२ ॥

गङ्गावद्यत्सलिलाभिख्या तापत्रयापहन्त्री च ।
त्रिजगति विख्याता सा **ख्याताख्या** तापहा सरित्पातु ॥ ५६३ ॥

अथावन्तीवर्णनम् ॥

ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं **महाकाल** इति जगति यत् ख्यातमाभाति यस्यां
यत्र **क्षिप्रास्ति** गङ्गाभवदमलयशा **विक्रमः** शाककर्ता ।
या गीता पूर्षु सप्तस्वपि निगमचयैः पूरुषार्थार्थिभिर्या
सेव्या सर्वानवन्ती चतुरजनचिता पातु सा **मामवन्ती** ॥ ५६४ ॥

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१ C. °वृन्दैः for °सञ्चय° २ C. omits vs. no. 563

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मा[1]लवदेशविभूषानगरी यस्यां तु **सिद्धवट** आस्ते ।
सुरतीर्थसाधुवृन्दं यस्यां सोज्जयिनिका जयति जगति ॥ ५६५ ॥

महातुला अप्यतुलाः सशालास्तथा विशालाः सहिताश्च चित्रैः ।
गृहा विचित्रा निवसन्ति यस्यां भूमितले **सोज्जयिनी** विभाति ॥ ५६६ ॥

हरसिद्धिनागचण्डेशागस्तीशाङ्गपातसप्ताब्धीन् ।
सान्दीपिनिमठमुख्यानवन्तिका खण्डतो विजानीयात् ॥ ५६७ ॥

इत्यवन्तीवर्णनम् ॥

अथ महाकालवर्णनम् ॥

लिङ्गान्निर्गत्य पदा कालं हत्वा य आत्मचरणरतम् ।
मार्कण्डेयमरक्षीद्दयालुरेषोऽवतान्**महाकालः** ॥ ५६८ ॥[2]

शिवपुराणानुसारेण ।

आसीत्कोऽपि सपुत्र ईशभजनासक्तो द्विजाग्र्यः पुरा-
वन्त्यां तस्य तु दूषणाख्यदितिजः पीडामकार्षीद्यदा ।
तत्पूजास्थलसम्भवाल्किल तदा गर्ताद्विनिर्गत्य यः
तं हत्वा भजकं ररक्ष स **महाकालो**ऽवताद्वः सदा ॥ ५६९ ॥

इति महाकालवर्णनम् ।

अथ क्षिप्रावर्णनम् ।

तरङ्गमाला[3]कलितातिभीमपाठीननक्रादिभयङ्करा या ।
क्षिप्रा स्वमज्जज्जनतारणे या **क्षिप्रा**ऽवताद्विप्रवराश्रिता सा ॥ ५७० ॥

च[4]र्मण्वतीमवाप्ता या **सरिताख्या** तया समाश्लिष्टा ।
विप्राढ्यतटा **क्षिप्रा** क्षिप्राम्भाः साऽवनौ सनौर्जयति ॥ ५७१ ॥

इति क्षिप्रावर्णनम् ।

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१ C. omits vs. nos. 565-567 & sub-heading अथ महाकालवर्णनम्
२. C. adds इति महाकालवर्णनम् & sub-heading and vs. no. 569. ३ C. °कुलित° for° कलित° ४ C. omits vs. no. 571-75.

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अथावन्त्याः पश्चिमतः किञ्चिद्देशवर्णनम् ।

अस्याः पश्चिमदेशे पञ्चाशतत्क्रोशमध्यगा नद्यः ।
गम्भीरा **चर्मण्वत्यथ चम्ला मह्यनास**संज्ञाः स्युः ॥ ५७२ ॥

भीत्वा गतास्त्यगम्भीरा या गम्भीराम्बुशालिनी ।
सा गम्भीरा सरित्पातु पापेभ्यः पापिनो जनान् ॥ ५७३ ॥

महिता प्रत्यगुदधिगा विन्ध्यमहीधरभवा महीभूषा ।
यातु **मही** सरिदस्या महिमानमहीश्वरोऽपि किं कथयेत् ॥ ५७४ ॥

बहलपलाशपलाशिन्यस्मिन् गुर्जरगदावुदावधिके ।
तत्सविधे धवलोपलशैलयुतेऽन्याश्च सन्ति लघुसरितः ॥ ५७५ ॥

अथ प्रकृतमार्गवर्णनम् ॥

ताजपुरतराणाख्ये वेदेषुष्वत्र कूपसरसी स्तः ।
तस्मात्स्**ताजापुरसारङ्गपुरसुजालपुरपराडानि** ॥ ५७६ ॥

एतानि सप्तसप्तक्रोशेष्वत्यायतेषु सरितोऽत्र ।
तस्मात्**सिहोरनगरं** पञ्चक्रोशेषु लघुषु तत्र सरित् ॥ ५७७ ॥

तस्मात् क्रोशेषु नवसु **भूपालं** निखिलनगरभूपालः ।
तस्मिन् योजनदीर्घा **वेत्रवती** जन्मभूर्महासरसी ॥ ५७८ ॥

अम्बाडी वसुषु ततो **भेलसम**ष्टस्वमुत्र **वेत्रवती** ।
दत्ते स्वतीराश्रितनीवृतो या सदा नदीमातृकतां जलौघैः
नानालता वेत्रवतीतटे या मां पातु सा **वेत्रवती** स्रवन्ती ॥ ५७९ ॥

तस्माद्वाणेषु **खरी** तस्या **ग्यारसपुरं** त्रिषु विभाति ।
या[1] स्वस्नायिजनानां पातकपशुदण्डने तु वेत्रवती ।
वेत्रवतीवोद्युक्ता या यमुनासङ्गताऽवतु जनान्सा ॥ ५८० ॥

तस्माद्योजन आस्ते **वाग्रौदाख्यं** ततश्च **रातगडः** ।
योजन आस्ते तस्मिन् सरित्ततो योजनद्वये तु महान् ॥ ५८१ ॥

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१ C. omits vs. no. 580

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यस्मिंश्चित्रा आपणाः सौध आस्ते
लक्ष्मीर्ग्रामः **सागराख्यः** स भाति ।
याम्ये पौर्व्येऽल्पं सरश्चोपशल्ये
कासारोऽस्मिन् **सागरप्रख्य** आस्ते ॥ ५८२ ॥

अथ महालक्ष्मीवर्णनम् ॥

यावत्यो भूर्भुवनजठरे मातरः सन्ति मातः
पुत्रा[1]न्स्वान्स्वान्सगुणविगुणान् पान्ति यद्वत्तथैव ।
विश्वस्याम्बा त्वमसि कमले पाहि मां विश्वसंस्थं
नो चेत्याज्यं भुवन[2]जननीत्वं त्विदानीं भवत्या ॥ ५८३ ॥

ना[3]साविनिर्जितशुकाधरा धरितकिंशुका शुकादिनुता ।
मार्पयतु कनकभाङ्गांशुका विलसदंशुकाशु कामान्मे ॥ ५८४ ॥

याऽयोध्या मायागिरि मधुरा [4]सद्वारवत्यथावन्ती ।
काञ्च्यविमुक्तामातां त्यक्त्वा कस्मात्पुरीः प्रधावन्ती ॥ ५८५ ॥

स्वाविर्भावविभूषितजलनिधिकमलां सुशोभिमुखकमलाम् ।
परिमृष्टपातकमलां दृग्जितकमलां भजामि हृदि कमलाम् ॥ ५८६ ॥

रविभेन्दुमुखी मङ्गलकर्त्री सौम्याकृतिर्गुरुनितम्बा ।
कविगीता मन्दगतिस्तमोपहा केतुदा जयत्यम्बा ॥ ५८७ ॥

तस्मात्**सानोदमिषुषु** तत्र नदी स्यात्ततः **पथर्याख्यः** ।
सप्तसु कान्तारेषु क्रोशेष्वास्ते जलाशयोऽत्र लघुः ॥ ५८८ ॥

तस्मान्**नृसिंहदुर्गः** षट्स्वस्मिन्स्यान्नदी **सुनालाख्या** ।
हटयाख्यः षट्स्वस्मिन्**सुवर्णभद्र**स्ततः [5]**शमर्याख्या** ॥ ५८९ ॥

सुवर्णभद्रवर्णनम् ।

सुवर्णमात्रहेमरूप्यदायिभिर्य आप्यते
सुवर्ण[6]भद्रदः सदा निमज्जतां नृणां तु यः ।

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१ C. सगुणान् for स्वान्सगुणविगुणान् २ C. °जायीत्वमेव त्वयाद्य for जननीत्वं... भवत्या ३ C. omits vs. no. 584 ४ C. सद्वारिकाधावन्ती for सद्वारवत्यथावन्ती vs. no. 585 not clear. ५ C. शिमर्याख्यः for शमर्याख्यः ६ C. °भद्रदायको for भद्रदः सदा

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सुवर्णभद्रसंज्ञको नदः स भाति [1]कौ सना(दा)
सु[2]वर्णतां सुवर्णतां च याति योऽत्र मज्जति ॥ ५९० ॥

फलिनयुतेषु नवसु कुल्यात्र **महेवाभिधो** मुनिषु तस्मात् ।
तत्र सरः **कक्रहटी** तस्मात्पञ्चस्वमुत्र कुल्याऽस्मात् ॥ ५९१ ॥

यस्मिन्सुपर्ण[3]गमनस्त्रिसुपर्णपाठि ब्राह्मं पलाशिनिचयोऽस्ति सुवर्णशाली ।
यस्मिन्सरांसि स तु पञ्चसु **पर्णसंज्ञः** षट्क्रोश[4]भूर्यमभितः खलु **हीरसूः** स्यात्
॥ ५९२ ॥

अथ कृष्णवर्णनम् ।

गोकुलपालो गोकुलवासो गोपालगोपिकाकलितः ।
गोविन्दो गोवर्धनधारो गोपायताज्जगत् कृपया ॥ ५९३ ॥

तस्माद्**जगडसविधे शिङ्गपुरं** क्रोशषट्क आस्तेऽत्र ।
कुल्या तेषु क्रोशेष्विषुकृपाः सन्त्यतोऽग्रतः षट्सु ॥ ५९४ ॥

अनयोर्मध्यगघाटे **गयावळानां** विराजते **कोठिः** ।
सा नाम तेषु यातेष्वपि यात्रायास्त[5] एव नान्ये स्युः ॥ ५९५ ॥

अथ कालञ्जरवर्णनम् ।

स्वर्गङ्गा कोटितीर्थं निजगलगरलोत्पन्नदाहप्रशान्ति
दृष्ट्वा यस्मिन्नितान्तं निखिलसुरगुरुर्नीलकण्ठेश आस्ते ।
एणे[6] **तीर्थे** यदीये हरिणतनुधराः सन्ति ते ये दशार्णे
सप्तव्याधा अभूवन् जयति गिरिगरिष्ठः स **कालञ्जरोऽद्रिः** ॥ ५९६ ॥

अथ नीलकण्ठवर्णनम् ।

लक्ष्म्यादिरत्नानि विहाय नाशो मा भूज्जगत्या इति यो दयालुः ।
पपौ गरं घोरतरं सदैत्याहिनीलकण्ठोऽवतु **नीलकण्ठः** ॥ ५९७ ॥

रसिया सप्तसु ततः सरसी तत्र राजते ।
ततो **भरतकूपाद्यः** षट्क्रोशेभ्यः परो महान् ॥ ५९८ ॥

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१ C. भूतले for कौ सना(दा) २ C. सदाप्लुवन्ति येऽत्र ते सुवर्णतां भजन्ति हि for d ३ C. °वह्नः for °गमनः ४ C. °भूमिरभितोस्य तु for °भूर्यमभितः खलु ५ C. तयेव for त एव ६ C. मार्गे for ऐणे

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अथ चित्रकूटवर्णनम् ॥

यदुदीक्षणनिरतजनो कुड्यस्थितचित्रकूटवद्भाति ।
रत्नैर्विचित्रकूटः स **चित्रकूट**स्त्रिकूटवद्भाति ॥ ५९९ ॥

प्रदक्षिणपरिभ्रमज्जनचयो न यस्मिन् पदं
ददाति मुनिसेवितो दशरथात्मजावासभूः ।
स्वनिर्गतपयस्विनी कलितचारुमन्दाकिनी
जलाप्लुततटश्च यो जयति **चित्रकूटः** स कौ ॥ ६०० ॥

यस्याभ्यर्णगते गिरौ हनुमतः स्कन्धे पतन्ती पयो-
धारा भाल्यभितो विरागिखचितः श्रीरामभूमिश्च यः ।
यस्मिन् मर्कटवानराश्च बहुलास्तिष्ठन्ति यं कामना-
नाथं प्राहुरसौ महोच्चशिखरः श्री**चित्रकूटो**ऽवतात् ॥ ६०१ ॥

यच्चित्रकूटशैलाग्रिमनीवृतिधवलतास्ति तन्मन्ये ।
शरदिन्दुधवलगङ्गाभङ्गासङ्गचनिल[1]सततसङ्गफलम् ॥ ६०२ ॥

छिन्दन्ति मुहुर्घासा रयस्तु घासाङ्कुरानपि विवृष्य ।
भुवमायसशस्त्रैर्यत्तन्मन्ये धवलिमास्य देशस्य ॥ ६०३ ॥

यद्वा रविविधुवंशजरघुयदुमुखनृपतयोऽवसन्नस्मिन् ।
देशेऽतस्तद्यशसाऽसौ देशोऽद्यापि धवल इति मन्ये ॥ ६०४ ॥

इति चित्रकूटवर्णनम् ॥

सप्तस्वतो [3]**रयिपुरं** तत्र नदी सप्त ते दृशप्रायाः ।
षट्सु मुहूरतश्चञ्चलवीचिर्य**मुना**सरिद्वरा तत्र ॥ ६०५ ॥

अथ यमुनावर्णनम् ॥

तीरे पारावारे पारावारीये भित्त्वा यात्याप्यस्पृष्टा तत्तोयैर्यत् ।
[4]तत्सामर्थ्यं नो भागीरथ्यादी[5]नामप्यास्तेऽतः **कालिन्दीं** त्वां नौम्यस्मि ॥ ६०६ ॥

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१ C. [°]सङ्गमादित्यं for [°]सततसङ्गफलम् २ C. omits vs. nos. 603-604. ३ C. रैपुरं for रयिपुरं ४ C. एतसामर्थ्यं for तत्सामर्थ्यं नो ५ C. [°]नां नैवास्ते for [°]नामप्यास्ते

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शिवशिरसि संस्थितत्वात् गङ्गामाहात्म्यमधिकमालोक्य ।
गणपतिकटयुगलान्मदधारा कपटेन वहति **यमुनेव** ॥ ६०७ ॥

तरणियुतं लसदुडुपं नीलमनन्तं प्लवाढ्यमतिविमलम् ।
नभ इव भाति यदम्भः सा **यमुना** दीर्घसैकता पातु ॥ ६०८ ॥

यस्याः [1]पित्रे हरिहरविधीन्द्रादिदेवास्त्रिसन्ध्यं
नत्वार्घ्यानि प्रददति[2] च यज्जन्मभूमिस्तु संज्ञा ।

यस्या वैवस्वतमनुयमौ सोदरौ ख्यातकीर्ती
कालिन्दी सा सकलजगदुद्धारधीरा पुनातु ॥ ६०९ ॥

गङ्गा[3] हरिजाऽहमपि च सा गणपशिरस्थिता न चाहमिति ।
यमुना मत्वेव गणपशिरस्थिता मदझरीमिषादास्ते ॥ ६१० ॥

भित्त्वा निजजनकमपि स्वस्नायिनरं तु गमयसि ब्रह्म ।
यमुने निजबन्धुभयात्तं मोचयसि त्वमत्र किं चित्रम् ॥ ६११ ॥

यस्यां कालभगिन्यां बहुकालं कालियोऽवसत्तस्याः ।
कालिन्द्याः कालजलायाः साम्यं का लभेत जगति सरित् ॥ ६१२ ॥

सरयूगण्डक्यादिकसरितां ये गङ्गया हि सम्भेदाः ।
ते तूत्तमतीर्थानि त्वत्सम्भेदस्तु तीर्थराजः स्यात् ॥ ६१३ ॥

पुष्करनाब्युर्व्वायितपुष्करकरिभिर्विगाहिता **यमुना** ।
शारदपुष्करमेचकपुष्करधारा सुपुष्करा जयति ॥ ६१४ ॥

हंससुते तव तीरे गेहं सन्त्यज्य परमहंस इव ।
सोऽहं स्मरं(रन्)स्थितोऽहं सदा न गुरु हंसगतिपदं मन्ये ॥ ६१५ ॥

निर्गत्यास्ताद्भानुजेऽन्वेषयन्ती तातं याता को दयार्द्रिं च कस्याम् ।
क्रीडां चक्रे गोपगोगोपिकाभिः सार्धं कृष्णो या नदी त्वत्समा स्यात् ॥ ६१६ ॥

सकृदपि यैः स्नातं स्यादमुना यमुनाजलेन भवदमुनाः ।
किमु नाशितो न भवति प्राङ्नस्तैर्दुःखशोकहेतियुतः ॥ ६१७ ॥

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१ C. तातं for पित्र २ C. जनन्यस्ति संज्ञा तु यस्याः for च यज्जन्म.....संज्ञा
३ C. omits vs. no. 610-613.
४ B. पुष्करनादिसु पुष्करकरिगाढा पुष्कराभपुष्करयुक् ।
पुष्करसमाघनाशेति पुष्करसरा सुपुस्करा यमुना ॥

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बहुमत्स्यकूर्मकोलानृसिंह[1]युग्लसद्वामनस्रोताः ।
अतिरामकृष्णतोयाजिनयुक् हरिसेवियुगवताद्यमुना ॥ ६१८ ॥

सन्नामा छन्ननामेतरलघुतटिनीवन्मया सार्धमाया-
सि त्वं कालिन्दि गाङ्गं वचनमिति समाकर्ण्य कोपेन दीक्षा ।
त्यक्त्वा तां स्वप्रभावप्रकटननिरते वाम्बुधिं तोयजालै-
र्जङ्घालैर्या विभिद्यात्रजदपरतटं पातु सा सूर्यजा माम् ॥ ६१९ ॥

उडुपतरणिजठरत्वं योग्यं ब्रह्माण्डजठरजाह्नव्याः ।
तत्सुतयोर्युवयोस्तद्रेवे यमुने न युक्तमिति मन्ये ॥ ६२० ॥

यत् घनरसः शितिघनाघनौघनीलौघघातकोऽतिघनः ।
श्वेतैर्बुद्बुदवृन्दैः पृथुलघुभिर्भाति भैः शरत्खमिव ॥ ६२१ ॥

प्रेतानामधिपो यया स्वभवने शुक्लद्वितीयोर्जगा
यस्यां भोजित आह योऽत्ति भगिनीहस्तादमुष्मिन् तिथौ ।
सा नो चेत्प्रतिपन्नका करतलादप्यत्ति तस्मै [2]तु म-
द्भीतिर्नेति मुदा नमामि **यमुनां** लोकोपकर्त्रीं तु ताम् ॥ ६२२ ॥

सा न स्याद् यदि कल्पित स्वसृकरादप्यत्ति **इति पाठः** ॥

इति यमुनावर्णनम् ॥

अथान्तर्वेदीवर्णनम् ॥

नवनीतमृदुल उपलैः शैलैरपि वर्जितस्तुहिनधवलः ।
अन्तर्वेदीसंज्ञो यमुनागङ्गान्तरालगतदेशः ॥ ६२३ ॥

अन्तर्वेदीदुर्गो धनधान्यसमृद्धिमान् विपुलसलिलः ।
गङ्गायमुनापरिखायुक्तोऽतो वसति **तीर्थराजोऽत्र** ॥ ६२४ ॥

शाणे घृष्ट्वा चक्षुषि निक्षेप्तुं लघुशिलाऽपि नो यस्याम् ।
सान्तर्वेदी भाति क्षोणीसदमण्डपस्य वेदीव ॥ ६२५ ॥

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१ C. °जुष्टा च for °युग्लसद् २ C. मदीयभीः for तु मद्भीतिः ३ C. omits vs. nos. 624-626.

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यान्तर्वेदी तु चतुर्वेदीगीतास्ति जाह्नवीयमुने ।
यदुभयतोऽगाधजले परिखे इव तिष्ठतोऽवतु जनान् सा ॥ ६२६ ॥

अकबरपुरं तु तस्मान्नवसु क्रोशेषु तत्र सरसी स्यात् ।
तस्मात्पञ्चक्रोशायतराजपथान्तरे **प्रयागः** स्यात् ॥ ६२७ ॥

अथ प्रयागवर्णनम् ।

स्त्रीत्वेन[1] सप्तपुर्यस्त्रियः **प्रयागस्य** तस्य पुंस्त्वेन ।
तद्भवतेति च मन्ये तासां **काशी** प्रियेति सा सविधे ॥ ६२८ ॥

अन्तर्वेदीसंस्थं पुण्यं विष्णुप्रजापतिक्षेत्रम् ।
षट्कूलगतं यमुनागङ्गोत्तरपश्चिमस्थितं वन्दे ॥ ६२९ ॥

यात्रिकपादैः [2]पिष्टाप्यति[3]सन्तुष्टत्वं तेषु पिष्टातम् ।
धूलीछलेन वर्षन्तीव जयति भूः **प्रयागस्य** ॥ ६३० ॥

[4]नाशयति यत्र पापं गङ्गायमुनासरस्वतीयोगः ।
दुग्धघृतसितायोगः पित्तमिवावतु स **तीर्थराजो** माम् ॥ ६३१ ॥

अक्षय्यवटाधस्ताज्जपवटमादाय यः करोति जपम् ।
स भवावटे न तु पतेत् किञ्च प्राप्नोति शाश्वतं स्थानम् ॥ ६३२ ॥

वेणीमाधव[5]सोमौ भारद्वाजोऽथ वासुकिवटौ च ।
शेषः **प्रयाग** इत्याद्या [6]देवास्तत्पुराणतो ज्ञेयाः ॥ ६३३ ॥

गालीप्रदानदक्षा धृष्टा निरपत्रपाः प्रयागस्थाः ।
विप्राः सुवर्णदाने तुष्टाः काशीगयागताश्च तथा ॥ ६३४ ॥

अद्यापि[7] यत्र हंसा एव धवलकाकसंज्ञिता मकरे ।
आयान्तीदं नो चेत् कुतोऽन्यदा ते न सन्ति तत्रैव ॥ ६३५ ॥

इति प्रयागवर्णनम् ।

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१. C. omits vs. nos. 628-929. २ C. पृष्टा° for पिष्टा on the analogy of घृष्टा ३ C. °सन्तुष्टेव for °सन्तुष्टत्वं ४ C. यत्रावमपाकुरुते for नाश.....पापं ५ C. °सोमा for सोमौ ६ C. यात्राः for देवाः ७ C. omits vs. no. 635.

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अथ त्रिवेणीवर्णनम् ।

त्रिवेणी भाति हीरेन्द्रनीलमाणिक्यगुम्फिता ।
मालेव तीर्थराजस्योपकण्ठे विधिनिर्मिता ॥ ६३६ ॥

गङ्गायमुनासङ्गमतुल्यो गङ्गाब्धिसङ्गमो वाच्यः ।
पुण्येनास्तां [1]मधुरत्वेन तु महदन्तरं नभोभूवत् ॥ ६३७ ॥

सितमेचकलोहितभा नद्य इमा इति वदन्त्वविद्वांसः ।
मन्येऽहं शिवविष्णुद्विपवदना मुक्तिदाः प्रयागेऽस्मिन ॥ ६३८ ॥

छत्रच्छायाछन्नकच्छामुच्छलत्स्वच्छकच्छपाम् ।
अविच्छिन्नाच्छाम्बुधारां **त्रिवेणी**महमाश्रये ॥ ६३९ ॥

त्वय्यभिलाषी स्वान्ते स्वान्ते[2] तनुं ददाति नरः ।
योऽसौ त्रिवेणिपापोऽप्याप्नोति ब्रह्म किं पुनः सुकृती ॥ ६४० ॥

अहिमकरे मकरगते स्नाति मकरकमठशालिवेण्यां यः ।
हिमकरयशाः समकराकृतिकुण्डलभृद्धरेः पुरं याति ॥ ६४१ ॥

[3]त्यजन्तमिममादरान्नरवरं त्रिवेण्यामसून्-
अहं विधिमहं हरिं हरमहं करोमीति हि ।
विरिञ्चिजनिभानुजामरधुनीषु वादे रता-
स्वसावमृतमेत्यतः कलह इष्टनाशो भवेत् ॥ ६४२ ॥

महाकाली तु यमुना महालक्ष्मीः सुरापगा ।
सरस्वती सैव नात्र तुरीयां मज्जनात् [4]भजेत् ॥ ६४३ ॥

मन्ये सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि धवलारक्तासिताम्भोधुनीः
तत्सङ्गं प्रकृतिं गुणत्रयमयीं मन्ये **त्रिवेणी**मपि ।
तत्र स्नानरता दिवं गुणमयीं मर्त्या अयन्तां सुखं
चित्रं प्राणमुचो व्रजन्ति मनुजा नैर्गुण्यमेतद्बुधाः ॥ ६४४ ॥

महतोरपि पार्थक्ये फलमन्यन्मेलने तयोरितरत् ।
गङ्गायमुने तीर्थे मेलनमनयोस्तु तीर्थराजः स्यात् ॥ ६४५ ॥

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१ C. माधुर्येण for मधुरत्वेन. २ C. तनू for तनुं. ३ C. सृजन्तमिव° for त्यजन्तमिम° ४ C. लभेत for भजेत. ५ C. omits vs. nos. 645-46

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प्रालेयनगात् गङ्गा सखी सखीमिव जवेन कालिन्दीम् ।
परिरब्धुमना अयते नोचेत्साग्रे कुतोऽस्ति मन्दगतिः ॥ ६४६ ॥

इति त्रिवेणीवर्णनम् ॥

तस्माद्गङ्गां तीर्त्वा **झूशी** क्रोशेऽत्र सुरधुनीस्रोतः ।
हण्ड्या[1] गोपीगञ्जो हटयामिरजामुरारसंज्ञमतः ॥ ६४७ ॥
हटयाख्याद्दक्षिणतः क्रोशचतुष्कान्तरस्थिते महति ।
गङ्गाप्रतीरभूते **विन्ध्यगिरौ विन्ध्यवासिनी** वसति ॥ ६४८ ॥

अथ विन्ध्यवासिनीवर्णनम् ॥

नन्दाद्यशोदाजठरे तु भूत्वा शुम्भं निशुम्भं च निहत्य संस्थिता ।
विन्ध्याचले गाङ्गजलाप्लुतोत्तटे पुनातु सा मामिह **विन्ध्यवासिनी** ॥ ६४९ ॥

जातोऽस्ति ते नाशकरो महीतले
मन्नाशनाल्किं खलु लभ्यते त्वया ।
इत्याह कंसस्य कराद्गता दिवं
देवी सती साऽवतु **विन्ध्यवासिनी** ॥ ६५० ॥

कालीयोगीश्वरीभ्यां या सहिता विन्ध्यपर्वते ।
गङ्गासमीपेऽस्ति नौमि तां विन्ध्याचलवासिनीम् ॥ ६५१ ॥

इति विन्ध्यवासिनीवर्णनम् ॥

क्रोशेषु गोऽष्टरामाष्टस्वेतान्येषु सन्ति कासाराः ।
कुट्टिम आम्राढ्योऽयं बहलजलोऽध्वा मुनिष्वतः काशी ॥ ६५२ ॥

अथ काशीवर्णनम् ॥

शशकमशकगण्डका वृका ये पिककङ्काः शुककाककेकिकोकाः ।
मरणमभिगताः प्रयान्ति मोक्षं किमु मनुजाः त्रिपुरारिराजधान्याम् ॥ ६५३ ॥

मुक्तावसथा जीवन्मुक्ता मुक्तावदातयशसोऽपि ।
मुनयो यस्यां स्थातुं वाञ्छन्ति पुरी ततोऽविमुक्ता सा ॥ ६५४ ॥

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१ C. हटया for हण्ड्या २ C. omits vs. nos. 648-51

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धन्या काशी यस्यां तेजस्तमसोः कदाप्यदृष्टचरम् ।
सामानाधिकरण्यं गङ्गायमुनाछलेन परिभाति ॥ ६५५ ॥

काश्या[1] ब्रह्मत्वं यन्निगमादिषु कथितमस्ति तन्मन्ये ।
न हि जातिवर्णभेदोऽस्यामपि चानन्दरूपतास्तीति ॥ ६५६ ॥

अन्यानि क्षेत्राणि तु फलन्ति विधिपूर्वकं कृतान्येव ।
विपरीतापि कृता यदि न काशिकात्वं तु काशिका त्यजति ॥ ६५७ ॥

आनन्दवने गौरीमुखे[2] त्रिकण्ठकविराजिते वन्द्ये ।
क्षेत्रे महाश्मशाने विमुक्तसंज्ञे वसन्ति ते धन्याः ॥ ६५८ ॥

यदम्बुकणिकालेशलवाणुरपि दुर्लभः ।
सुरैः सा जाह्नवी यस्यां लभ्या **काशीं** नमामि ताम् ॥ ६५९ ॥

यत्र श्रीमान्माधवः शम्भुरीशः श्रीद[3]स्तृक्थी(श्रीदस्पृक्तिः) त्वन्नपूर्णान्नदात्री ।
अन्तो मुक्तिर्विघ्नहा धुण्डिरम्भो गाङ्गं शास्ता भैरवः केदृशी पूः ॥ ६६० ॥

काश्येषानङ्गरिपोर्नगर्यपि द्वेष्टितमिति मन्येऽहम् ।
स्वमृतजनान्पापानपि शिवसदृशान्यत्करोत्यनङ्गान्वा ॥ ६६१ ॥

का[4]शी प्रयागगययोर्मध्यगता स्वप्रभावतस्त्वधिकम् ।
निखिलक्षेत्रेभ्यस्ते प्रकाशयति देहलीप्रदीप इव ॥ ६६२ ॥

पञ्चक्रोशाया[4]ममाशम्भुलोकादापातालं भ्राजमानं वरेण्यम् ।
ज्योतीरूपं लिङ्गमाभाति काशीसंज्ञं धन्यैर्दृश्यते पुण्यतस्तत् ॥ ६६३ ॥

नाशितमोहावरणा काशी वरणात्मतां गतावरणा ।
वरणाढ्यतटा नलदैः सुशोभना गङ्गया युता जयति ॥ ६६४ ॥

अलं काश्येव गङ्गैव विश्वेशः सुतरामलम् ।
उद्धर्तुं नरकाल्लोकान् [5]किमेतत्त्रयसङ्गमः ॥ ६६५ ॥

परमेश्वरस्य शम्भोः पूतस्य व्यापिनो हरस्य पुरः ।
ऐश्वर्यं सुखदत्वं पूतत्वं दैर्घ्यमपि च को वेत्ति ॥ ६६६ ॥

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१ C. omits vs. nos. 656-57 २ B. त्रिकण्ठक° for त्रिकण्टक° ३ C. unintelligible due to overwriting ४ C. omits vs. no. 662. ५ C. किं पुनः for किमेतत

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सकृदप्यशीतिवदतां मनुजानां जन्मनां चतुरशीतिः ।
लक्षाणि नाशयति या सा [का]शी गङ्गायुता जगत् पातु ॥ ६६७ ॥

काश्याश्च कर्दमेशोऽस्ति भीमचण्डी ततश्च रामेशः ।
कापिलधारा च पुनः पञ्चक्रोशीय[1]मागतिः काश्याम् ॥ ६६८ ॥

नित्यान्तर्गृह्याद्या यात्रास्तीर्थोंघदेवता अपि च ।
या[2]स्ताः **काशीखण्डा**दिपुराणेभ्यः सताबगन्तव्याः ॥ ६६९ ॥

हीराचितकार्तस्वरभूषणमिव सार्वभौमकरयोगात् ।
वि[3]श्वेशयुता काशी गङ्गाया योगतो भुवि बिभाति ॥ ६७० ॥

काशीधनुर्ज्यासरिदुत्तमा शरः श्रीधुण्ढिराजो वरणाशिसङ्गमौ ।
कोटीद्वढे माधव एष लस्तको धन्वी शिवो लक्ष्यमघं तु जन्मिनाम् ॥ ६७१ ॥

गाङ्गेयो रिपुषु यथा तद्वत् क्रूरा जनेषु सर्वेषु ।
गाङ्गेयदानतुष्टा गाङ्गेया यत्र सा जयति **काशी** ॥ ६७२ ॥

अप्यविमुक्तं मुक्तिदमानन्दवनं महाश्मशानं यत् ।
क्षेत्रं पिनाकिसेवितमपि नाकियुतं नमामि तच्छिरसा ॥ ६७३ ॥

इति काशीवर्णनम् ॥

[4]**अथ दुर्गावर्णनम्** ॥

ये दुर्गाः पूर्वभवे ते दुर्गाख्यासुरापहां दुर्गाम् ।
दुर्गार्तिनाशिनीमशिगां(वां)पश्यन्ति च न दुर्गतिं यान्ति ॥ ६७४ ॥

[इति दुर्गावर्णनम् ॥]

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१ C. आगतं for आगतिः २ C. बहलास्ताः काशीखण्डादिपुराणादितोऽवगन्तव्याः for यास्ताः..... °गन्तव्याः । ३ C. विश्वेशाधिष्ठित° for विश्वेशयुता ४ C. omits sub-heading to vs. nos. 674

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अथ वन्दनदेवाः ॥

तत्र विश्वेशः ॥

काश्यां गत्वा सकृदपि ये पश्यन्त्यखिलवन्द्यविश्वेशम् ।
तेऽमुत्रेह च मु(मू)दा विद्वांसोऽप्याप्नुवन्ति विश्वेशम् ॥ ६७५ ॥

[1]शिवपुराणानुसारेण ॥

तप्तुं स्थित्यै स्वदत्ते प्रकृतिपुरुषयोर्यो विमुक्ते प्रतप्तृ-
पुंदेहस्वेदतोये सति वितत इदं नाभिभू भूप्रपञ्चे ।
तत्संस्थाप्याविमुक्तेश्वरयुतमजके पृष्ठलग्ने सतीदं
नाशार्थं यन्नमुष्मिंश्च तदनुनयतोऽस्त्येष विश्वेश्वरोऽव्यात् ॥ ६७६ ॥

स्वर्भानुमेचकगलं हिमभानुभालं
श्वेताङ्गभानुममले हृदि भानुनेत्रम् ।
यश्चित्रभानुनिटिलाक्षमनङ्गशत्रुं
ध्यायेत् भानुरिह तस्य सहेत कः कौ ॥ ६७७ ॥

योऽनन्तप्रभृतिसुरैः सेव्यश्चानन्तभूषितग्रीवः ।
योऽनन्तात्मकमूर्तिर्योऽनन्तगुणः स पातु विश्वेशः ॥ ६७८ ॥

यत् **प्रीतिः** स्याच्छिवे **वैधृति** मतिशुभदे **शूलहस्तेऽभ्रशुक्ले**
द्विर्द्विष्कंभेऽघवज्रे **ध्रुवपरिघधरे हर्षणे शोभने** च ।
जुष्टे **सिद्धैश्च साध्यैर्धृतिमिह** भजते **सिद्धिसौभाग्यवृद्धी-**
श्चायुष्मान् स्यात्**सुकर्मैन्द्र**पदमथ च **सब्रह्मतां** वा **वरीयान्** ॥ ६७९ ॥

न भजति पिनाकपाणिं योऽसावपि नाकपः सपदि नाकम् ।
नाकलयतीत्यतोऽहं शम्भुं विश्वेश्वरं भजामि सदा ॥ ६८० ॥

अन्यस्य पत्नीं श्रियमात्मभक्तसात्करोषि किं चित्रमिहेश यत्त्वया ।
अपि स्वपत्नी निजभक्तसात् कृता नमोऽस्तु ते यत्प्रभवो निरङ्कुशाः ॥ ६८१ ॥

यः पश्यति विश्वेशं काशीस्थं षडरिकरटिपञ्चास्यम् ।
दिग्बाहुं पञ्चास्यं व्रजन्त्यघान्यपि महान्ति पञ्चास्य ॥ ६८२ ॥

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१ C. omits the sub-heading and vs. no. 676.

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गङ्गागौरीगजवक्त्रगीष्पतिगरुत्मद्वाहगन्धर्वगी-
र्वाणग्लौ गजचर्म गोगरगरुत्मद्वैरिभिर्यो गणैः ।
गोत्रारातिगभस्तिगुह्यकपगौरीगुह्यकैः सेवितोऽ
तोऽगस्थोऽप्यगसंस्थितः स भगवान् मां पातु विश्वेश्वरः ॥ ६८३ ॥

गलविधृतरामचन्द्रं चन्द्राभाङ्गं च चन्द्रशिरसमहम् ।
सपदि हृदि हरिश्चन्द्रार्चितमविमुक्तस्थमीश्वरं वन्दे ॥ ६८४ ॥

केशे पिशङ्गं रदनच्छदेऽरुणं कण्ठेऽसितं तं धवलं कलेवरे ।
नगेन्द्रकन्यागणराजसेवितं देवाधिदेवं शिवमस्मि वन्दे ॥ ६८५ ॥

गङ्गालङ्कृतशेखरो गणगणाधीशो गरुत्मद्बल-
त्रस्ताशीविषमुख्यशेषनमनस्वाङ्गप्रदत्ताश्रयः ।
गौरीगात्रकृतार्धगात्रगगनाभोगोरगः शङ्करः
पायाद्वो गिरिकार्मुको गजमुखव्यालाङ्कृताङ्कः सदा ॥ ६८६ ॥

इति विश्वेशवर्णनम् ॥

अथ माधववर्णनम् ।

दध्रेऽग्निबिन्दुधरणीसुरयाचितः सन्
[1]तन्नामधेयपरभित्तमुखं स्वनाम ।
[2]यो बिन्दुमाधव इति क्षितिपं दिवोदा-
सं छद्मना गमयति स्म स पातु विष्णुः ॥ ६८७ ॥

विपरीतमिदं विष्णोः साकं पुत्रेण रोचते कलहः ।
कामस्य यत्र वसतिस्तत्र न तिष्ठति यतो हृषीकेशः ॥ ६८८ ॥

उमया रमया शिवेन सेव्यो विबुधेन्द्रैश्च मयादिदैत्यहा यः ।
स मया यमयातनाभयेन श्रितकृष्णो हरतां भवामयान्मे ॥ ६८९ ॥

इति माधववर्णनम् ॥

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१ C. विश्वेश्वरं हरिश्चन्द्रार्चितमविमुक्तसंस्थितं for सपदि... मीश्वरं २ C. omits vs. nos. 685-86. ३ C. तन्नामभित्तमुखमात्मन आह्वयं यः for मन्नाम...स्वनाम ४ C. कौ for यो

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अथ ढुण्ढिराजवर्णनम् ॥

चण्डयेकैकस्तपनः कोप्युग्रोऽन्यो जनार्दनस्तेभ्यः ।
किं सुखमतो भजत [1]हृदि मङ्गलमूर्तिं [2]विनायकं ढुण्ढिम् ॥ ६९० ॥

वृषपितृमण्डलसंस्थं वृषवाहसुतं वृषस्थितं भूमौ ।
वृ[3]षरक्षणेऽवतीर्णं वृषमुखसुरवरनुतं स्तुमो गणपम् ॥ ६९१ ॥

निजदन्तकोटिहतशतकोटिदितिजमिभमुखं वितीर्णसुखम् ।
वन्दे शतकोटिकरादिनिर्जरार्चितपदाम्बुजं ढुण्ढिम् ॥ ६९२ ॥

यः पश्यति ना रदकरमीशसुतं नारदप्रभृतिवन्द्यम् ।
विश्वामित्रसमः सन् विश्वामित्रान् स नाशयति [4]सततम् ॥ ६९३ ॥

लक्ष्यलाभौ सुतौ यस्य सिद्धिबुद्धी च योषितौ ।
स्वानन्दाख्यं पुरं यस्य ढुण्ढिराजं नमामि तम् ॥ ६९४ ॥

नागोपवीतमीशं नागमुखं नागसम्भवविलिप्तम् ।
सर्वेषु नागतं यः पश्यति ढुण्ढिं स मुक्तिभाक् भवति ॥ ६९५ ॥

अप्यत्रिलोचनोद्भववान् देवो यल्लिलोचनोद्भववान् ।
सुमुखोऽपि वक्रतुण्डो यः सोऽवतु मां गणेश्वरो नित्यम् ॥ ६९६ ॥

अपटुषु गुहादिषु दिवोदासं ह्युपजापतो बहिः काश्याः ।
गमयत इभवदना[5]यादादिव शम्भुः स्वनाम गणप इति ॥ ६९७ ॥

इति धुण्डिराजः ॥

अथ दण्डपाणिः ॥

का[6]शीं गता यं प्रविलोक्य मर्त्या न दण्डपाणिं गणयन्ति कालम् ।
तं दण्डपाणिं शिवभक्तमुख्यं नमामि काशीस्थजनावितारम् ॥ ६९८ ॥

इति दण्डपाणिः ॥

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१ C. omits हृदि २ C. विघ्ननाशकं for विनायकं ३ C. वृषरक्षणार्थं for वृषरक्षणे ४ C. मनुजः for सततं ५ C. °वदनायाददिव for °वदनायादादिव ६ C. काश्यां for काशीं

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अथ कालभैरवः ॥

कालस्य भैरवो यस्मादतो यः कालभैरवः ।
काशी[1]वासिजनत्राता यः स मामवतात्सदा ॥ ६९९ ॥

भैरवशस्त्रैर्घनसन्निभै रवैर्वैरिवाहिनीं योऽहन् ।
काशीक्षेत्राधिकृतः शिवदूतः कालभैरवोऽवतु सः ॥ ७०० ॥

इति कालभैरवः ॥

अथ काशी ॥

काशीक्षेत्रं च तत्रस्थां काशीदेवीमहं भजे ।
यद्दर्शनात्पुनर्मर्त्यः संसारं नैव पश्यति ॥ ७०१ ॥

अथ गुहावर्णनम् ॥

गुहादयः सर्वगुहाशयस्य परमेशितुः ।
काशीपुरीस्थितां दृष्ट्वा गुहां पूज्यत्वमाप्नुवन् ॥ ७०२ ॥

अथ गङ्गावर्णनम् ॥

गङ्गापरिसरविलसद्गङ्गाधरनगरसंस्थितं रम्यम् ।
गङ्गाख्यसरो वन्दे दर्शनमात्रेण मुक्तिदं नृणाम् ॥ ७०३ ॥

अथ भवानीवर्णनम् ॥

चारुद्विजशोभिमुखां द्विजराजगतिं द्विजाधिपतिभालाम् ।
द्विजगणजुष्टां भजत द्विजा **भवानीं** किमन्यभजनेन ॥ ७०४ ॥

धनसम्पत्त्यन्नपूर्णा जनाः स्युर्यत्प्रसादतः ।
सा पातु मामन्नपूर्णा काशीस्था शङ्करप्रिया ॥ ७०५ ॥

या **तिथिः** [2]शिवलोचनस्य या[3] यातु**वार**शमनी **चलतारा** ।
योगयाग**करणै**र्मुनीश्वरै[4]र्ईड्यते हृदि सदा [5]भजतैनाम् ॥ ७०६ ॥

प्रतिपदमरिहन्त्रीं श्रीशिवस्य द्वितीयां
स्मरति हृदि तृतीयास्वामिनीं पूर्णिमाभाम् ।

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१ C. °वास° for °वासि° २ C. शिवविलोचनस्य for शिवलोचनस्य ३ C. दैनेयं° for या यातु° ४ C. भजामि तां for भजतैनाम्

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सकृदपि जनयित्रीं यः चतुर्थीं प्रियस्यो-
द्भवति स नृपवंशेऽमात्यसैन्यादिजुष्टे ॥ ७०७ ॥

रविभेन्दुमुखी **मङ्गल**कर्त्री **सौम्या**कृति**र्गुरु**नितम्बा ।
कविगीता **मन्द**गति**स्तमो**पहा **केतु**दा जयत्यम्बा ॥ ७०८ ॥

सर्वज्येष्ठां **कृपार्द्रां मृग**पतिवहनां चारुहस्तां **विशाखा-**
श्लेषाढ्यां **तिष्य**हंत्रीं **श्रवण**युगयुतां **रोहिणी**कान्तभालाम् ।
पुष्पं**श्चित्रा**लकां यो भजति हृदि स ना विश्व[1]**मूलं पुनर्व-**
स्वन्नं प्राप्नोति **पूर्वास्य** जनिरनुमिता स्याच्छुभेत्यु**त्तराऽपि** ॥ ७०९ ॥

शकुनिचतुष्पद**नाग**दिरूपिणी **गरगला**ङ्गना येन ।
कौलवलीभां **बालव**मपि स्मृता **वणिग**पि द्विजात्सा वरः ॥ ७१० ॥

ताटङ्कभासुशोभित**गण्ड**ां **शिव**योषितं भजति योऽसौ ।
अपि गञ्जास्थितिसक्तो **व्याघातं** नाप्नुयात् **व्यतीपातम्** ॥ ७११ ॥

पञ्चाङ्गदीर्घतादिद्वात्रिंशल्लक्षणान्वितां गौरीम् ।
क्षणदेशमुखीं दाक्षायणीं जगद्रक्षणक्षमां वन्दे ॥ ७१२ ॥[2]

मीनाक्षी[3] **मकर**ध्वजस्य **धनुषा** तुल्योल्लसद्भूगिरेः
कन्या सिंहकटिर्**वृष**ध्वजवधूर्**मेष**स्थभालेक्षणा ।
कुम्भोत्तुङ्गकुचा **तुला** हृदि जगद्वाराशिनौ पार्वती
ध्याता यान्**मिथुनेन** तस्य न भयं **कर्का**त्तथा **वृश्चिकात्** ॥ ७१३ ॥

सगुरुमुनिगणैर्जुष्टा **विषमे गुरुमध्यमा** च **पूर्वे**ऽर्धे ।
रिपुजनलघुश्लाङ्गाऽन्त्येऽर्धे **बहु**यतियुताऽवतादार्या ॥ ७१४ ॥

ब्रह्माद्यामरवृन्दवन्दितपदां भक्तार्तिविध्वंसिनीं
मत्ताराति**सम**स्तगर्वमदनीं स्वर्णाङ्गकान्तिं शिवाम् ।
श्वेताम्भोधरमध्यभागविलसद्विद्युत्प्रभां भूतियुक्
श्रीशर्वाङ्गमिलच्छरीरलतिकां देवीं **भवानीं** भजे ॥ ७१५ ॥

इति भवानीवर्णनम् ॥

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१ C. °मूलं for °मूलं २ C. has sub-title इति भवानीवर्णनम् । after this vs. ३ C. omits vs. nos. 713-14

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अथ मणिकर्णिका ॥

मध्याह्ने यत्र सुराः स्नान्ति सदा स्नानतत्परनरोऽपि (रा अपि)।
शिवविष्णुरूपिणः स्युर्नमामि **मणिकर्णिका**महं तां वै ॥ ७१६ ॥

मणिकर्णिकादिभूषा ददाति **मणिकर्णिका** सकामानाम् ।
वनितानां मुक्तिमभीप्सन्तीनां मुक्तिमपि निजस्नानात् ॥ ७१७ ॥

अथ भागीरथीवर्णनम् ।

श्रीस्कन्दभीष्मौ सुरपाण्डवद्विषां सेनापती नैष्ठिकवर्णिनौ च यत् ।
भक्तोत्तमौ ब्रह्मविदुत्तमोत्तमौ त्वत्तुन्दमाहात्म्यमिदं हि जाह्नवि ॥ ७१८ ॥

गङ्गे[1] यमुनासरयूगण्डक्योऽपि स्वपूततामाप्त्यै ।
त्वत्सम्भेदमवाप्ता न चेत्कुतो जलनिधिं न ता याताः ॥ ७१९ ॥

निमज्य सलिले हता निजसुता हि सप्त त्वया
यया धुनदि शन्तनोः किल गृहेषु तस्यास्तव ।
भवेद्भि करुणा कथं परविनाश इत्थं स्थिते
ममाघदलनेऽस्ति सा न इति यत्स मे दुर्विधिः ॥ ७२० ॥

अधिका तुहिनगिरिसुता शम्भोरर्धाङ्गमिति वदन्ति यदि ।
तस्या अप्याधिक्यं तदुभयमूर्धन्यतां गतायास्ते ॥ ७२१ ॥

कखगघटाधवलजला तथा दधाना सुतुङ्गभङ्गततिम् ।
जलदुण्डुभपाठीनग्राहकमठसङ्कुला जयति गङ्गा ॥ ७२२ ॥

क्रममुक्तिमतां पुंसां प्राप्य स्थानाभिगमननिश्रेणिः ।
ब्रह्माण्डादायान्ती गङ्गे तव पातु जीवनश्रेणिः ॥ ७२३ ॥

नग्नो भिक्षाशनोऽयं करकलित[2]शिरस्कः कपर्दीति मत्वा
साक्षाच्छम्भुं विहाय त्वमपि जलनिधिं क्षारमप्याशु याता ।
गङ्गे रत्नाकरत्वाद्यदितरललनाः स्वं पतिं द्रव्यहीनं
हित्वा श्रीमन्तमन्यं जडमपि मनुजं यान्ति किं चित्रमेतत् ॥ ७२४ ॥

बहलद्वीप्यतिहरिणं प्रचलत्कोलं द्विजालिसंजुष्टम् ।
अतिगहनं वनमिव यत् वनं जयति सावताज्जगद्गङ्गा ॥ ७२५ ॥

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१ C. omits vs. nos. 719-20 २. C. °कपालः for शिरस्कः

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गङ्गे तव माहात्म्यं किं वाच्यं त्वत्परंपरायोगात् ।
आर्यावर्तगनद्योऽप्यतिपापानपि पुनन्ति मनुजान् यत् ॥ ७२६ ॥

यस्त्वां गङ्गे प्रयातः शरणमिह नरस्तस्य हस्ते कपालं
भाले वह्निं च कण्ठे गरमुरगगणं विग्रहे नग्नतां च ।
भिक्षाशित्वं वितीर्य स्वयमपि च[1] शिरस्था भवस्यम्ब नित्यं
यद्वा नामापि रूपं परिहरसि बलादस्य किं योग्यमेतत् ॥ ७२७ ॥

मर्त्यस्थित्योत्तरपूर्वदेशगजनाः पूता भवन्ति ध्रुवं
मच्छून्येतरदेशसंस्थजनता पूता कथं स्यात् इति ।
आलोच्येव दयार्द्रहृत्सुरसरिन्मेषादिसंस्थे गुरौ
तत्तद्देशगता नदीश्च सरसीर्यास्यम्ब तुभ्यं नमः ॥ ७२८ ॥

अयि गङ्गे त्वयि मज्जनसङ्गात् ये पटास्त्वयि निमग्नाः ।
तत्तरुभूमिस्थजना अपि पापाः सान्वया विमुक्ताः स्युः ॥ ७२९ ॥

त्वयि मृतभुजो मृतभुजोऽपि न्यक्कृत्वा च शुनकाकबकाः ।
अमृतभुजः स्युस्त्वदमृतभुजो न किं स्युर्नरा अमरतटिनि ॥ ७३० ॥

यद्वामाङ्घ्रिस्पृष्टा स श्रीमान् येन शिरसि विधृता त्वम् ।
स तु नग्नो भिक्षाशीत्युचितविधात्र्यसि नमोऽस्तु ते मातः ॥ ७३१ ॥

या विष्णुपदभ्रष्टाऽपि विष्णुपदसंस्थिता[2] त्रिपथगा[3]रवात् ।
पतिताऽपि नखात्पतिता हरिचरणस्ये[4]यमवतु मां गङ्गा ॥ ७३२ ॥

अधमोऽपि स्वीयाश्रयनाशं न करोति किं पुनः श्रेयान् ।
त्वं तु भवोत्तमगात्रे स्थिताऽपि भवनाशिनीति तेऽस्तु नमः ॥ ७३३ ॥

पतितं यस्याः के शवमयते [5]केशवसदाशिवत्वमिह ।
सा क्षालितविष्णुपदान्पितशिवमस्तकाऽवतात् गङ्गा ॥ ७३४ ॥

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१ C. omits vs. no. 726 २ C. °वृन्दं तनौ for °गणं विग्रहे ३ C. शिरस्यम्ब तिष्ठस्यजस्रं यद्वा रूपं च नामापि सपदि परिमार्ष्यस्य for शिरस्था.....बलादस्य ४ C. omits vs no 728 ५ C. त्रिपथगात्वात् for त्रिपथगा रवात् ६ C. adds रवात् before पतिता ७ C. सावतात् for (°स्य) इयमवतु ८ C, शिवकेशत्वमङ्गाय for केशवसदाशिवत्वमिह

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वक्रगतिर्बहलविषा धवला पातालयायिनी तरला ।
गङ्गाख्या भुजगीयं विलक्षणा स्पर्शतोऽमृतकरी यत ॥ ७३५ ॥

बहुधर्मपरैः सेव्या भीमतटार्जुनजला पृथुलभङ्गा ।
सितपुलिना यमभगिनीश्लिष्टा यादोयुताऽवतात् गङ्गा ॥ ७३६ ॥

दर्दृश्यतेति मेचकयमुनाकलितेन्दुधवलजलगङ्गा ।
काशीदेव्युपकण्ठे बद्धा [1]हरिनीलहीरमालेव ॥ ७३७ ॥

गुरुभीष्मशकुनिजुष्टा विलसद्[2]भूरिश्रवास्तरणिजाढ्या ।
सकृपा जह्नुसुतेऽयं विभाति कुरुवाहिनीव जङ्घाला ॥ ७३८ ॥

यस्यां तु ब्रह्माण्डं पञ्चाशत्कोटियोजना[3]नाहम् ।
बुद्बुदति किं नु तस्यास्तरण्युडुपतुन्दताधिका तेऽम्ब ॥ ७३९ ॥

जय भागीरथि गङ्गे सरिदुत्तुङ्गे कृताघचयभङ्गे ।
भूषितशिवोत्तमाङ्गे हृतभवसङ्गे पृथूच्चचलभङ्गे ॥ ७४० ॥

त्वत्तोयं मज्जन्तस्त्वत्तोये मन्वतेऽधिकं [4]नान्यत् ।
धन्यास्ते मत्तोऽन्यो मत्तो नो विस्मृता मया यत्त्वम् ॥ ७४१ ॥

त्वत्स्रोतः प्रवहच्छवसंस्थाः तन्मांसभक्षिबककाकाः ।
पीयूषभुजो नाकाधिपतोऽप्यधिका न किंनरा स्नाताः ॥ ७४२ ॥

उच्छ्रृङ्खला ध्वजयुताः परिक्वणच्छ्रृङ्खला यथा करिणः ।
जलशब्दत्क्षेपणिकाः कोलास्तद्वत् चलन्ति गङ्गायाम् ॥ ७४३ ॥

प्लवगान् सपरीवारान् नॄन् वीक्ष्य तवोदरेऽम्ब मन्येऽहम् ।
ज्ञातैकसिक्त[5]भक्तन्यायात् ब्रह्माण्डजठरतां सत्याम् ॥ ७४४ ॥

धन्यास्ते तरवो लताश्च रुरवो व्याघ्रा गजाः फेरवः
[6]काकाः कोकशुका बकास्तृणपिकाः कीटोपला मृच्चये ।

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१ C. omits vs. no. 735 २ C. हीरेन्द्रनीलमालेव for हरिनील° ३ C. °द्रोणीश्च तरणिजाश्लिष्टा for भूरिश्रवा° ४ metrical defect; C. has यस्यां पञ्चाशत्कोटियोजना नाहमब्जजाण्डमपि । बुद्बु.....तुन्दवत्व आश्चर्यम् ॥ ५ C. नैव for नान्यत् ६ C. °भक्तन्याया ब्रह्माण्डजठरतानुपिता for °भक्त.....सत्याम् ७ C. बाकं काकं च शौकं मृदुपलतृण-कीटाश्च धन्या सदा ये for काकाः.....मृच्चये

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त्वत्त्रैलोक्यपवित्रता[1]विरचिता शौण्डीरपाथः पृषत्-
भृद्वाय्वाकलिताः पुनः किमु नरा मज्जन्ति ये त्वज्जले ॥ ७४५ ॥

अन्यस्य देवस्य गजाननस्यापि स्थापने प्राग्गणपार्चनं यथा ।
तथान्यतोयेषु निमज्जने त्वत्स्मृतिर्भवत्यामपि सैव जाह्नवि ॥ ७४६ ॥

आनाहतस्तुङ्गतरङ्गसन्ततेरायातयातप्लवसञ्चयैरपि ।
यादोभिरत्यन्तभयानकैर्भ्रमैस्तवैव गङ्गेऽधिकलत्रता स्फुटा ॥ ७४७ ॥

चलच्छदाः पर्वतसञ्चया इव खगा इवाधूतपतत्रशालिनः ।
मीना इवाम्बूपरिचारिणः प्लवाः चलाचलक्षेपणिकाः चरन्ति ॥ ७४८ ॥

ब्रह्माण्डगोले मम वेगधारणे शम्भुं विनान्यो न समर्थ इत्यसौ ।
गङ्गा विचिन्त्येव गता पयोनिधिं धारासहस्रैर्मधुराम्बुशालिभिः ॥ ७४९ ॥

त्वं[2] सर्वसरित्श्रेष्ठा शिरसि धृतेशेन चामरैर्मुनिभिः ।
जुष्टेति यदेतदहं मन्ये गाङ्गेयज[न]नीत्वात् ॥ ७५० ॥

त्वत्स्पर्शदर्शनाघ्राणपान[3]शब्दश्रुतिस्मरणकृत् यः ।
त्वङ्नेत्रघ्राणरसनकर्णमनांस्यस्य पावयसि गङ्गे ॥ ७५१ ॥

जलावतारैर्बहुभिश्च यस्याः कूलं चितं मण्डपमण्डलीभिः ।
काशीस्थमन्यत सितसैकतस्थडिण्डीरपिण्डैः परिमण्डितं सा ॥ ७५२ ॥

आन्तरशुद्धिर्योगाद्यैर्बाह्या शुद्धिरन्यपानीयैः ।
भवति त्वन्मज्जनतो ऽन्यन्नोभय[4]शुद्धिकारणं गङ्गे ॥ ७५३ ॥

वातोच्चलत्पताकाः प्लवा महान्तो विभान्ति यत् पयसि ।
चञ्चलविस्तीर्णफणाः फणाधरा इव पुनातु सा गङ्गा ॥ ७५४ ॥

यत् कल्लोलध्वानमाकर्ण्य मर्त्या भ्रूमध्यस्थं शब्दमाकर्णयन्ति ।
दृष्ट्वेक्षन्ते[5] यां महेशं न याम्यारावं याम्यांश्चावताज्जाह्नवी सा ॥ ७५५ ॥

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१ C. °त्रता करणशौण्डीराम्बुबिन्दूद्गदाद्गतेनाकलिताः for °त्रताविरचिता.....कलिताः २ C. omits vs. no. 750. ३ C. °रव° for °शब्द° ४ C. has the word फणाः between अन्यत् and नोभय suggestive of the mistake in copying. This may be due to the occurrence of the same word फणा in the next line of the next verse just below this word, a case of erroneous insertion ५ C. दृष्ट्वा मां पश्यन्ति शम्भुं for दृष्ट्वे.....महेशं

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मिहिकाधवला[1]ऽत्यायतदेहा गङ्गेयमिति वदन्तु बुधाः ।
भूरूपशम्भुमूर्तेः कण्ठस्थितनागराज इति मन्ये ॥ ७५६ ॥

नैर्गुण्यदे त्रिपथगेऽभीष्टवितरणाज्जगत् प्रतारयसि ।
नो चेत् स्पर्शनमात्रात्[2] भवाब्धिमेनन्न किं प्रतारयसि ॥ ७५७ ॥

मन्ये शम्भोः प्रियाम्ब त्वमसि खलु यथा पार्वती नो तथायं
स्वीयाष्टानां तनूनां तिसृषु गगनभूचन्द्ररूपासु यस्मात् ।
धत्ते त्वां नैव गौरीं पुनरपि[3] सततं संस्थिता सा यदङ्के
तन्मूर्तेरुत्तमाङ्गे निवसति भवती लोलभङ्गाऽहमस्मात् ॥ ७५८ ॥

शक्रध्वजप्रतिपदाश्लिष्टां विजयदशमी[4]ंस्तिमूर्जे ।
दीपावलीं लसन्तीं मङ्गलदां भजत पञ्चगङ्गां ताम् ॥ ७५९ ॥

पूजार्पितचित्रसुमैः कुथति क्वापि क्व नीलकुट्टिमति ।
सौधस्थलति क्वापि च यत्तोयं पातु पञ्चगङ्गा सा ॥ ७६० ॥

आकाशदीपदीप्राकाशाकाशाभपटधरैर्मनुजैः ।
ऊर्णावद्भिः कम्बलधरैश्च कल्पे सुसेव्यते योर्जे ॥ ७६१ ॥

त्वत्तोयपतितकुणपाशनचुञ्चुश्चपलचञ्चुरपि करटः ।
सुरकरटिकरटसंस्थितमपि हंसं किन्न हसति सुरतटिनि ॥ ७६२ ॥

जन्मप्रभृति गङ्गेऽत्र स्वर्णं हरति यो नरः ।
सोऽपि मङ्क्त्वा तव जले हरत्येव परत्र च ॥ ७६३ ॥

यद्यमुनागङ्गाम्भः स्रोतो नामास्य किमिति गङ्गेति ।
यमुनेति न चेत्स्मर **विप्रतिषेधे परमिदं हि सूत्रमृषेः** ॥ ७६४ ॥

श्रीमत्काश्या गङ्गा काशी श्रीगङ्गया विभाति तथा ।
यद्वत् क्षणदा शुभ्रांशुना क्षणदयापि भाति शुभ्रांशुः ॥ ७६५ ॥

इति भागीरथीवर्णनम् ।

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१ C. दशशतवदना for अत्यायतदेहा २ C. भवसागरतो for भवाब्धिमेनन् ३ C. च यदङ्कस्थिता सास्ति गङ्गे for सततं.....यदङ्के ४ C. °स्थिता° for °प्सिता°

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बहुशर्करो बहुपया मधुरुचिरः स्नेहवद्युतो मधुरः ।
काश्याः परतो देशो गयाविधिः पाक इव रुचिं तनुते ॥ ७६६ ॥

तस्माद्गङ्गा[1]पारे **रामनगर**मत्र शुकपिता गङ्गा ।
मोङ्गलसरायि पञ्चसु तत्र सरो मुनिषु **नो**[2]**वदार**ख्यमतः ॥ ७६७ ॥

तत्रास्ति [3]**कर्मनाशी** नदी यदीयं जलं स्पृशन्ति न हि ।
तस्मात् **मोहनयाख्यं जहनाख्य**मतस्ततः **सहस्रावम्** ॥ ७६८ ॥

एतानि सप्तषडरिषु सरसी **दुर्गा**वतीसरस्येषु ।
तस्मादिषुष्वकोडिः कूपोऽस्यां **शोणनद**युताश्चेषु ॥ ७६९ ॥

शोणाष्टबिम्बनयनाङ्घ्रिकराम्बुजानां
यः शोणरत्नपरिभूषितकामिनीनाम् ।
वक्षोजव[4]ह्निशिखशोणिततुल्य[5]पाथा(पन्था)
गव्यूतिदीर्घपुलिनोऽवतु **शोणभद्रः** ॥ ७७० ॥

दावुतनगरं तस्मिन् कूपो स्या[6]**द्देहुराख्य**मरिषु स्यात् ।
तस्मिन् पुनः **पुनाख्या सरित्त**तो मुनिषु **कोच**मत्र **सरः** ॥ ७७१ ॥

विनिन्द्य मागधेषु या गया समानपावनी
गयागमोद्यतो नरः करोति यत्र मुण्डनम् ।
पुनः **पुनां** पुनः पुनः प्रयान्ति ये [7]नरास्तु तां
पुनः **पुना** पुनः पुनः पुनाति तान् **सरि**[8]**त्सदा** ॥ ७७२ ॥

जमुनाख्यमरिषु तस्मा**ज्जमुनासरि**दत्र बहिषु **गया**ऽस्मात् ।
बहलोष्णेऽस्मि[9]न्मार्गे **त्वाम्रारामापुरे** पुरे स्थितये ॥ ७७३ ॥

अथ गयावर्णनम् ।

प्रमत्तहेति[10]दानवार्दितामरस्तुतो हरिः
विरिञ्चिना गदासुरास्थिनिर्मितां महागदाम् ।

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१ C. °परतो for °पारे २ C. नोबराख्य° for नोवदाख्य° ३ C. कर्मनाशा for कर्मनाशी ४ C. °कुङ्कुमसु for °वह्निशिख° ५ C. पथाः for पाथाः ६ C. देहराख्यं for देहुराख्यं ७ C. नरोत्तमाः for नरास्तु तां ८ C. सरितु सा for सरित्सदा ९ C. °स्मिन्ध्वन्या° for °स्मिन्मार्गे त्वा° १० C. °दैत्यपीडिता° for °दानवार्दिता

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प्रगृह्य तं जघान यत् ततो गदाधराभिधां
दधार यो **गया**गतोऽवतात् स जन्मिनो गदात् ॥ ७७४ ॥

पि[1]ण्डैर्धवलैः स्निग्धैः पृथुलैर्मध्यैश्च लघुभिरतिनीलम् ।
विष्णुपदं ग्र(ग्र)हतारानक्षत्रैर्विष्णुपदमिवाभाति ॥ ७७५ ॥

यस्यां तु वटश्राद्धं कृत्वा दृष्ट्वा नरोऽप्यवटपत्तने ।
न स्पृशति त्राणार्थं[2] वटं क्रमेलक इवाम्रतरुपत्रम् ॥ ७७६ ॥

खगरिष्टशिशुरवान्ते सायं पैशाचलिपिपठकशिशुवत् ।
प्रवदन्ति पिण्डविधिवक्तृरवान्ते यात्रिका मुदा यस्याम् ॥ ७७७ ॥

अष्टगया पञ्चगयैकोद्दिष्टविधीन् वदन्त्यनुक्रमतः ।
पण्डितवत् वणिजोऽपि च साहित्यं खर्परादि ददतेऽत्र ॥ ७७८ ॥

यवयवपिष्टमधुतिलज्यान्धो जम्बालजाललुलितानि ।
अष्टादशशिववैष्णवादिपदान्याभान्ति यत्र सा जयति ॥ ७७९ ॥

ग[3]याप्रभावं किमु वच्म्यहं फलं
यदर्थमायातजनस्य जायते ।
काश्यादिसंदर्शनमानुषङ्गिनो
वेद्यात्रिकास्तातयुताः कुतोऽल्पकाः ॥ ७८० ॥

अन्धो विशिष्टमणिकाढ्यवंशभाजनविशिष्टशिरसोऽन्ये ।
यव[4]पिष्टपूर्णखर्परकराश्च केचित् भ्रमन्ति [5]पिण्डेभ्यः ॥ ७८१ ॥

तव पितरः स्वर्याता उक्त्वेत्थं प्रेतरामगिर्युपरि ।
विप्राः प्रकुर्वते करपृष्ठौष्ठाश्लेषजन्यकम्बुरवम् ॥ ७८२ ॥

मूढा बहवो स्वीये पितृपिण्डान्ते तु षोडशीपिण्डान् ।
वक्तुः करतलनादं श्रुत्वा ते ददति तन्मुखं वीक्ष्य ॥ ७८३ ॥

यस्यां पूर्वदिशा सा चतुर्दशब्रह्मजातविप्रा यत् ।
शुद्धं वाऽशुद्धं वा प्रवदन्ति **गया**ऽवतादसौ मनुजान् ॥ ७८४ ॥

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१ C. धवलैः स्निग्धैः पृथुमध्यमलघुभिः पिण्डसञ्चयैर्नीलम् for पिण्डै.....नीलम् २ C. omits वटं ३ C. पिठ for पिष्ट Influence of Marathi (author's mother-tongue) ४ C. omits vs. no. 780 ५ C. °पिठ° for °पिष्ट° ६ C. पिण्डार्थं for पिण्डेभ्यः

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प्रतीच्युदग्वाक् पुरंदर[1]ककुब्विदिक्सम्पत्-
नृभी रचितपिण्डदानविरमे[2]ऽनिशं जायते ।
स्फुटन्मधुघृताज्यभक्तयव[3]पिष्टपाथस्तिला-
द्यनेकमणिकस्त्वनोतिलघुगोलयन्त्रोपमः ॥ ७८५ ॥

प्रे[4]ताद्रिरामगिर्योरिपुतीर्थी(र्थे ?)धर्मव्रनविधिसरःसु ।
पदसंहतौ गदालोलेऽक्षय्यवटे च मुनिषु [5]विधिकृत्यम ॥ ७८६ ॥

फ[6]लवहितीर्थशुद्धिश्राद्धादीन्यन्यकर्मजातानि ।
ज्ञेयानि **गयामाहात्म्य**तो नरो वक्तुमत्र के शक्ताः ॥ ७८७ ॥

इति गयावर्णनम् ।

अथ फल्गूवर्णनम् ॥

कला घनतिरोहिताऽपि रुचिरा यथैवेन्दवी
शिखाऽपि भसितावृताऽनिलसखस्य दीप्ता यथा ।
विभाति मधुरा तथातिसिकतासु लीनाऽपि या
नमामि खननावलोक्य सलिलां च **फल्गु**ममूम् ॥ ७८८ ॥

मध्ये निखातपरिदृश्यसुनीलनीरा-
[7]त्यन्तायता हिमसदृक्सिकतास्वरूपा ।
नूत्नेन्द्रनीलशकलच्छविविष्णुजुष्टो
दुग्धाम्बुराशिरिव भाति सरित्सु **फल्गूः** ॥ ७८९ ॥

यस्यां फलति भवति गौस्तोयं खननान्मतेत्यतः **फल्गूः** ।
व्यु[8]त्पत्तिः पौराणी त्वेषा ज्ञेया गयीयमाहात्म्यात् ॥ ७९० ॥

वलद्वल्गूदका **फल्गूः** फल्गुर्गङ्गाऽपि नर्मदा ।
माधुर्येण यदग्रे स्यात्सा सरित्तल्लजाऽवतात् ॥ ७९१ ॥

इति फल्गूवर्णनम् ।

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१ C. °समायातजन्मिभी for विदिक् सम्पतन्नृभी २ C. °दिदिशं for °निशं ३ C. °पिठ° for °पिष्ट° ४ C. प्रेतगिरौ रामगिराविषु° for प्रेताद्रि.....रिषु° ५ C. पितृ° for विधि° ६ C. फलवष्ट° for फलवहि° ७ C. क्षोशायता for °त्यन्तायता ८ C. निःसारवाचको न तु फल्गुशब्दो न तुच्छवाच्यस्यां for 2nd line

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